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T H E

BRITISH PLUTARCH,

CONTAINING
THE LIVES
OF THE

Most Eminent STATESMEN, PATRIOTS, DIVINES, WARRIORS, PHILOSOPHERS, POETS, and ARTISTS, of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, from the Accession of HENRY VIII. to the present Time. Including, a Complete History of ENGLAND from that Æra.

In SIX VOLUMES.

Ornamented with elegant Frontispieces.

VOL. IV.

A NEW EDITION,

Revised, corrected, and considerably enlarged, by
the EDITOR,

T. MORTIMER, Esq;

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20. 4. 31

L O N D O N:

Printed for E. and C. DILLY, in the Poultry.
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C O N T E N T S

O F T H E

F O U R T H V O L U M E.

	Page
T HE Life of Oliver Cromwell, including Memoirs of Fairfax and Ludlow -	I
The Life of Admiral Blake - - - - -	60
The Life of Gen. Monk, Duke of Albermarle	77
The Life of Edward Montague, Earl of Sandwich - - - - -	92
The Life of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and Lord High Chancellor of England	102
The Life of Sir Matthew Hale, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench -	116
The Life of Andrew Marvell - - - - -	126
The Life of Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord High Chancellor of England - - - - -	137
The Life of Algernon Sydney, including Memoirs of William, Lord Russell - -	148
The Life of James Butler, Duke of Ormond	160
The Life of George Villiers, the Younger, Second Duke of Buckingham of that Name - - - - -	186

S U P.

S U P P L E M E N T.

	Page
The Life of John Selden - - - - -	199
The Life of Dr. William Harvey - - - -	206
Memoirs of Samuel Cooper, Painter - - -	212
The Life of John Milton - - - - -	214
The Life of Samuel Butler - - - - -	245
The Life of Edmund Waller - - - - -	252
The Life of Sir William Petty - - - - -	261

185	Second Duke of Buckingham of that	
186	The Duke of George Villiers, the Younger,	
187	The Duke of James Butler, Duke of Ormonde	
188	Memoirs of William, Lord Russell	
189	The Duke of Albemarle, Sydney, including	
190	of England	
191	of Shaftesbury, Lord High Chancellor	
192	The Duke of Andrew Marvell	
193	of the Court of King's Bench	
194	The Duke of Sir Matthew Flinders, Lord Chief	
195	and Lord High Chancellor of England	
196	The Duke of Richmond, Lord of Chesham	
197	Seaborn	
198	The Duke of Edward Livingston, Earl of	
199	The Duke of Camille, Duke of Albemarle	
200	The Duke of Admiral Boscawen	
201	ing Memoirs of James and Jacobus	
202	The Duke of Oliver Cromwell, including	



T H E
BRITISH PLUTARCH.



The LIFE of
OLIVER CROMWELL,

[A. D. 1599, to 1658.]

Including Memoirs of FAIRFAX and LUDLOW.



THE history of no modern nation furnishes any example of so extraordinary a revolution, as that which was successfully accomplished in England, by the personal bravery, political abilities, and general knowledge of mankind united in the character of the private individual whose life we are now to present to our readers. Nor can any apology be made for omitting it in the former edition of THE BRITISH PLUTARCH; for, however we may condemn Cromwell as a base usurper of the supreme
VOL. IV. B power

power of his country, and as a deserter of the principles of true patriotism, by which he first gained credit and esteem with his fellow subjects, this can be no justification for such an omission; some of the greatest heroes of antiquity being involved in the same crime of ambition, whose glorious military exploits, and wise administration of the governments they illegally obtained have effaced in a great degree their treason in obtaining them, and immortalised their names

Plutarch has not omitted a single circumstance of any moment, in the life of Julius Cæsar, and posterity seems to have forgot his crimes, in the remembrance of his public and private virtues: with much greater reason may we at this distance of time, throw a veil over the usurpation of Cromwell, since its consequences became glorious, by his wise administration, which made his country formidable both by sea and land, and procured her some territorial acquisitions, and many important commercial advantages, which she enjoys to this very hour. The unprejudiced reader therefore will not be displeased to find an ample life of Oliver Cromwell substituted in the place of imperfect memoirs of Fairfax and Ludlow, whose public transactions are so blended with the history of Cromwell, that they cannot with any propriety be detached from it, and for this reason are now included in it.

Oliver Cromwell was born at Huntingdon in the year 1599, and was descended from an ancient family of Welsh extraction, originally of the name of Williams, but one of his ancestors marrying the sister of Thomas Cromwell earl of Essex, (*vide* vol. I. p. 105.) a son by that marriage assumed his mother's maiden name, and transmitted it to his son Sir Henry Cromwell of Hinchinbrooke, grandfather to Oliver. Mr. Robert Cromwell his father, was the second son

son of Sir Henry; and his mother was a daughter of Sir Richard Stewart of the isle of Ely. It appears that no extraordinary sollicitude was shewn about his education during his juvenile years, for he continued as a day scholar at the free school of Huntingdon till he was seventeen. It is pretended however, that even in this first stage of his life, many strange circumstances occurred which were presages of his future greatness. But it would disgrace the dignity of history in this enlightened age so much as to mention them; they are childish and frivolous to the last degree; and perhaps, if stories of this kind handed down to us from the days of ignorance and superstition respecting the most renowned heroes of antiquity were examined critically, it would be found that they were the ingenious fictions of Biographers calculated to embellish the lives of illustrious men, and invented after they had attained to the summit of human grandeur. Where presages and omens formed a part of the religious ceremonies of a country, and it was the ambition of their warriors and legislators to claim a descent from their gods, extraordinary prodigies at their birth, and miraculous signs and wonders portending in their infant state, their future destiny, were flattering ornaments to the memoirs of their lives, generally penned before their deaths; and very easily introduced, by poetical licence, when most histories were written in verse, and calculated for rehearsal upon solemn public occasions. Thus the illusive fable once forged, was as readily engrafted into prose compositions, with the same view of gratifying the vanity of succeeding princes, in every country and in every age, in which an indiscriminate admiration and a blind imitation of the antients has been considered as the test of learning, refined taste, and polished manners.

But such at present is the happy state of science in Britain, that as superstition and ignorance have died away, so has the idle veneration for the absurdities of antiquity; and therefore it would ill become the editor of an historical compilation, designed chiefly for the rising generation, and which may probably find its way into our academies and universities, to propagate the idle visions or reveries of young Cromwell.

In fact, if he had given such early and strong indications, as some writers assert, that ambition was his ruling passion, he would have been more narrowly watched, at his first appearance in public life, instead of being rather neglected and despised for some time after. And if we closely attend to the several gradations by which he ascended to the supremacy, it will be found that he attained it by the strength of a most extraordinary genius, and happy capacity to discern and avail himself of a variety of favorable public incidents as they occurred, many of which were hardly within the verge of probability, much less within the compass of human foresight to predict; and the failure of any one of them must have proved fatal to him. In fine, his ambition, and the favorable opportunities of gratifying it, evidently sprung up, and grew together: the passion itself acquiring strength by the frequency of successful gratifications: a property common to ambition and the love of money.

About the age of seventeen Cromwell was sent to Sidney-college in Cambridge to pursue his studies, but without any determination of choice, that we know of, either on the part of his father or himself, of his future destination in life, which accounts for his not applying himself closely either to divinity, law or physic, but on the contrary, devoting more of his time to manly, robust exercises,

cises, while he remained at the university, than could possibly have been spared, if he had applied himself to the study of either of the three learned professions, with a view of fixing upon one of them for his support. An active, rather than a sedentary life seemed to be his choice, and polite, rather than abstruse learning, his favorite study; by which he acquired a competent knowledge of the Greek and Roman history, and a correct, easy style in writing.

Oliver's father being a younger brother, the scanty income of his estate was not sufficient for the decent support of his family, consisting of a son and four daughters, on which account his mother engaged in some branch of the brewing trade, without the participation or assistance of her husband, applying the profits to the raising portions for her daughters, whom she married into good families. This was the situation of the family, when Mr. Cromwell the father died, about two years after his son had been at the university, and upon this event he was called home by his mother, but the irregularity of his conduct giving her great uneasiness, she was advised to bring him up to the law, and in consequence sent him to Lincoln's inn. However as she continued her business, this short residence at home, furnished an opportunity to the cavaliers to stile him a brewer, and the son of a brewer.

A fortunate incident soon took him off from the study of the law, which by no means suited his inclination. Sir Richard Stewart his maternal uncle died, who had bequeathed him an estate worth five hundred pounds per annum, and having now seen the folly of dissipation and riot, he very prudently retired into the country, and became as remarkably sober and religious as he had been vicious and extravagant. For some time after, he was a devout member of the church of England, but upon pay-

ing his addressees to Elizabeth the daughter of Sir James Bouchier of Essex, whom he afterwards married, he became acquainted with some eminent puritan ministers and gentlemen, intimate in that family, whose religious sentiments he imbibed, and his lady being of that persuasion, he was soon prevailed upon to adhere to their party; now growing very powerful, and by their interest he was elected to serve in the third parliament of Charles I. which met on the 17th day of March 1628, but we are not told, what place he represented, nor where he resided at this time. The king as usual wanted this parliament to proceed upon his supply before they entered into any consideration of the many grievances complained of in the administration of government: but this the patriotic party would not admit, insisting that the supply should go hand in hand with the redress of grievances; and upon this plan they prepared a petition of right to be presented to the king, before the supply which they voted, should receive the royal assent, that if he granted the prayer of the petition, both might pass into a law at one and the same time. The subjects of the petition were, "That no loan or tax might be levied on the subject but by consent of parliament. That no man might be imprisoned, but by legal process. That soldiers might not be quartered on people against their wills. That no commissions be granted for executing martial law." To which the king answered, "I will that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm." The commons apprehending some state trick or subterfuge couched in this answer, because it was not expressed in the usual terms denoting the royal assent, resolved to address his majesty for a fuller answer, and both in the debate upon the first question for proceeding to a redress of grievances before voting the supply, and
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in that for a fuller answer to the petition ; Oliver Cromwell was a speaker, but did not at this time distinguish himself, as some historians relate, any further than as a member in the opposition.

The king perceiving that no supply could be obtained, though he had threatened to dissolve the parliament, without passing the petition of right, came to the house of peers on the 7th of June, and passed it in the usual form of words. “ Soit droit fait comme il est désiré.” The commons having carried this great point, readily granted a very ample supply, but this by no means satisfied the court, for a scheme was now set on foot by the opposition, to remonstrate against an ancient branch of the royal revenues, tonnage and poundage, a duty on the importation of wine and merchandise ; and to prevent this violent attack on what the king considered as his prerogative, the parliament was prorogued on the 26th of the same month to the 20th of October, and then by proclamation to the 21st of January 1629. This long recess only gave an opportunity to the king’s enemies to foment animosities and discontents and to form strong parties throughout the kingdom, so that upon the meeting of parliament new grievances were added to the old, and as heavy a complaint made of the religious, as of the civil state of the nation. His majesty however adhered to the affair of tonnage and poundage, endeavouring to make it the first business of the session by requiring in his speech from the throne, that it might be settled on him for life, as it had been on his ancestors. The commons on the contrary resolved to proceed upon the state of religion, previous to any other matter, on account of the increase of *Arminianism* and the encouragement given to popery ; to this they were instigated by that celebrated and active patriot Mr. John Pym, whose integrity and public

virtue endeared him to his country, and whose opposition to the arbitrary measures of administration was not founded either on ambition or selfishness, but on a perfect knowledge of, and a zealous attachment to the constitution: With such a character and the advantages of a powerful elocution, his influence in the house was unrivalled, and Oliver Cromwell closely trod in his steps with respect to his political conduct. Mr. Pym moved, that a covenant might be taken by the house, binding the members to maintain their religion and rights; Cromwell supported the motion in a speech complaining in direct terms of Neile bishop of Winchester for countenancing popery; this bold proceeding joined to an incident which had happened during the recess, which was his opposing and preventing the execution of a plan concerted by the king and the earl of Bedford for draining the fens in Lincolnshire and the isle of Ely, attracted the notice of the people, and he began to be talked of as a rising patriot, of whom great hopes might be conceived; and from this time he was distinguished in the house, by being chosen upon most committees respecting the state of the nation; the first in which he acted was the committee on religion in this parliament; but the officers of the customs having seized the merchandise of Mr. Rolles, a merchant of the city of London and a member of the house, and detained them for the duties of tonnage and poundage, he complained of a breach of privilege, and the consideration of this business absorbed all others; for the house was thrown into a flame by a message from the king, who avowed that the custom-house officers had only obeyed his commands. This rash innovation on the part of the crown was immediately voted a breach of privilege; and a protestation was drawn up, by the patriotic party, declaring "That whoever should bring in
innovations

innovations in religion, or seek to introduce popery or arminianism: and whoever should advise the taking of tonnage and poundage, not granted by parliament, or should pay the same, should be accounted enemies to the kingdom." The speaker, who was against this proceeding, and had refused to put the question if it should be read, was held by force in the chair, and the doors were locked while it was read; after which the house adjourned in confusion to a certain day, though it was known that the gentleman usher of the black rod was in waiting with a message from the king. The ministry now took a measure, which widened the breach between his majesty and the house of commons, and if on the one hand it is a disputable point, whether the commons encroached on the king's prerogative in the affair of tonnage and poundage, there can be none on the other, respecting the manifest violation of the rights of the people by the crown, for the members who had been most active in drawing up the protest, and obliging the speaker to stay in the chair while it was read, were illegally taken into custody by warrants from the privy council, and refusing to be responsible for what they had said or done in the house, were committed to the tower; and informations were exhibited against them for a riot, in the star-chamber court; to the jurisdiction of this court they refused to submit; and the informations being removed to the king's bench, they agreed by their council to plead, but the motion was over-ruled; they were adjudged to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, and Sir John Elliot died in prison. This should be considered as the first declaration of war on the part of Charles, and as a direct violation of his coronation oath; from this time therefore, since he offered no indemnification to his subjects, we may account the civil

compact as dissolved, and though the sword was not drawn till some years after, that neither due protection on the part of the king, nor true allegiance on the part of the subjects any longer subsisted. But it is observable, that neither Pym nor Cromwell were concerned in the riotous proceedings of the members, yet had they been justifiable, it is most probable the first would have been an active man upon the occasion; in fact, the proceedings were unwarrantable; and if Charles had taken the constitutional method of complaining to the house, and obliging the commons to proceed in a parliamentary way against the delinquents of their own body, great part of the mischiefs that ensued would have been timely prevented. Instead of this, he hastily dissolved the parliament, and then illegally prosecuted and imprisoned the offending members.

The king now took the fatal resolution to govern without parliaments, the soul of the constitution; and having contrived various ways to levy money as well for the support of his household as for the administration of his civil government, all equally illegal and oppressive; such as monopolies of salt, soap, leather, coals, pins, &c. and by assessments for ship-money: the payment of which was exacted under the penalty, in case of refusal, of fine and imprisonment; many gentlemen of landed property resolved to sell their estates, and others to dispose of their personal effects, and leave the kingdom. They were further induced to meditate this voluntary exile, by the severe proceedings of the courts of star-chamber; and the ecclesiastical high-commission court, the sentences of which were so infamous, and the fines so heavy, that men were liable to the most disgraceful punishments, and to ruin in their fortunes for nonconformity to the rites and ceremonies and doctrines of the church of England. To prevent this
emigration

emigration, as if Charles had determined that his subjects should have no resource left, a proclamation was issued in the year 1637, laying an embargo on all ships outward bound, having passengers on board, till the passengers should obtain a licence for leaving the kingdom, from such of the lords of the privy council, as were appointed for the business of foreign plantations; and amongst other persons of note found on board these ships were the famous John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell his relation. A direct refutation this, of the idle stories told of Cromwell in his youth; the intention of the puritan noblemen and gentlemen who planned the proposed emigration was, to settle in New England, there to enjoy in a private, retired manner, their religious opinions and their personal freedom, without any design of disturbing government at home; which they thought would be reformed in time, either by experience of the inconveniences of its present excesses, by the natural death of the king, or by some other unforeseen revolution: but it is evident they had no intention of taking any active part in, much less of concerting such a revolution. Of this party was Oliver Cromwell, who from the smallness of his fortune, and his middle rank in life, could have no other prospect in the wilds of America, than that of peaceable retirement. Yet this man, whom we find thus embarked, some writers of his life have asserted, was born to empire, and conceived hopes of a crown from the time that he acted the character of TACTUS at Huntingdon school in a play intitled LINGUA, in which the hero is supposed to have stumbled accidentally against a crown and robe. The emphatical lines are,

Was ever man so fortunate as I,

To break his shins at such a stumbling block?

It redounds more to the honour of Oliver Cromwell, and it will be found nearer to the truth, by the sequel, to suppose, that he acted upon true patriotic principles for many years after the period, when he was prevented leaving the kingdom. The ascendancy of ambition over these principles was perhaps as sudden and adventitious as the unforeseen incidents which gave birth to it; and if this is made apparent from the annals of his life, it will place his character in a new and in a more impartial light, than if he is considered as the long concealed premeditator of usurpation.

Oliver, out of parliament, seems to have acted with great prudence and caution, and though the nation was in a general ferment, and we may readily conceive that he looked upon this embargo as a fresh infringement of personal liberty, he passed his time quietly in the isle of Ely, and devoted himself to religious, rather than to political studies, frequenting the meetings of the nonconformists, and distinguishing himself only by his gifts, as they were then called, of praying, preaching and expounding. But when the misguided monarch, having exhausted every expedient for levying money on his subjects without the consent of parliament, saw himself under a necessity of calling one, he ingratiated himself with a leading man in the corporation of Cambridge, and was chosen to represent that city in the parliament which was summoned to meet on the 21st of April 1640; the king now offered to give up his claim to ship money and to redress the grievances of the nation, provided the commons would grant him a supply to carry on a war he had commenced against Scotland, and this condescension being highly acceptable, an accommodation was likely to ensue, when by a strange mistake of Sir Henry Vane, in delivering a message from his majesty, he demanded
twelve,

twelve, instead of six subsidies, and this error, which some charge him with committing designedly, threw the house into an ill humour, and before the confusion subsided, he went to the king and told him no money would be granted against the Scots, whereupon Charles abruptly dissolved the parliament, and contented himself with the subsidies granted to him by the convocation of the clergy, and the voluntary contributions of some of the nobility and gentry, with which he raised an army of 20000 men; but a detachment being defeated by the Scots at Newcastle, and the king's magazines of arms and ammunition falling into the enemies hands, a council of peers whom he summoned to meet him at York, advised him to enter into a treaty, and soon after a cessation of arms took place. The unsettled state of the kingdom, occasioned petitions from the city of London, and other corporations for a new parliament, to which the king consented, and the memorable long parliament met on the 3d of November, when Oliver Cromwell was again chosen for Cambridge; his attendance in parliament now became very close, his speeches frequent, and his warmth and activity in opposition to the measures of the court, remarkably conspicuous. Nor was he less zealous in promoting petitions against the bishops for their severe prosecutions and inhuman punishments in the ecclesiastical courts. He had likewise a principal share in the remonstrance of the state of the nation, in which the enormities of the king's government were strongly pointed out; this remonstrance was carried after very warm debates, and ordered to be printed on the 15th of December 1641; upon this occasion he again mentioned his design of leaving England for ever, if it had not passed.

At length, when the dissensions between the king and the parliament came to an open rupture, and the

the civil war broke out, Cromwell exhibited a new character, for having obtained a captain's commission from the commons, he immediately raised a troop of horse in the country, and both in the choice of his men, and his manner of disciplining them, displayed the strongest evidences of uncommon military genius. His men were remarkable for their sobriety, industry and bravery; they were most of them the sons of freeholders, who were taught to believe they were fighting for the defence of their own property; and being religiously disposed, they acted however mistakenly, upon principles of conscience: such soldiers could not fail of subduing common mercenaries who fight only for pay, and therefore, whenever they engaged them, they were victorious.

Cromwell's first military exploit of any consequence was his securing the town of Cambridge for the parliament, and stopping the university plate, ready packed up to be sent to the king. Not long after, he seized Sir Thomas Connesby, high sheriff of Hertfordshire, on the road to St. Albans, where he was going to proclaim the parliament officers traitors; for these services he received the thanks of the house, and was promoted to the rank of a colonel. Invested with this honour, he enlarged his plan of operations, and, by the strength of his increasing interest, soon raised a regiment of 1000 horse, with which he prevented the recruiting parties of the royalists in several counties, and by his activity and success recommended himself to further promotion. He was next appointed lieutenant-general under the earl of Manchester; and in different skirmishes he gave fresh proofs of his valour and skilful conduct, always coming off victorious: but his military reputation was established in such a manner that he was dreaded by the royalists, after
he

he had so eminently signalized himself at the battle of Marston-moor, by recovering the day against prince Rupert, after it had been lost by Manchester, Fairfax and Leven. He now became the general subject of conversation, and the eyes of all men were fixed upon him; but as he was greatly envied by his brother officers, it was not yet his time to aim at the generalship. The earls of Essex and Manchester were his most powerful adversaries, and the latter vowed his destruction for having accused him of cowardice; yet such was the general good opinion conceived of Cromwell by the parliament, and by the people without doors, that he soon perceived his own strength, and turned the tables upon his opponents, by complaining in the house of the misconduct of the war, which he imputed to venality of the then commanders, who for their own interest wanted to protract it. In consequence of a very bold speech upon this occasion, it was resolved to new model the army, and to pass an ordinance called, "The self-denying ordinance," by which all members of parliament were excluded from civil or military employments, and the earls of Essex and Manchester, with several other general officers, were thereby dismissed.

Sir Thomas Fairfax was now appointed commander in chief of all the parliaments forces, and by a strange evasion of their own law, Oliver Cromwell's service in the house was dispensed with, that he might act under Fairfax, to whom he was strongly recommended, and soon after he was appointed lieutenant-general of the horse. Cromwell did not remain a single day inactive, but in his way to the main army, defeated the earl of Northampton and lord Goring, made himself master of Bletchington-house, and then joined general Fairfax

fax at Gillsborough. It is observed by all the historians of the civil war, that though Fairfax had the chief command in title and appearance, Cromwell had such an ascendancy over him, that he was in fact, the acting commander. Fairfax had great personal valour, and was indefatigably diligent, but he wanted genius and foresight, he could execute without thought, but he could not form regular plans of operation; nothing therefore could be more fortunate for the parliament than the strict union and friendship which subsisted between these great men; and so sensible were the royalists of their combined abilities, that they made several attempts to create a misunderstanding and to divide them, but in vain.

Cromwell had not long joined the main army before the decisive battle of Naseby was fought, on the 14th of June 1645, the success of which like that of Marston-moor was chiefly owing to the troops under his command; for the king's infantry had routed those of the parliament under Fairfax, and had taken their ordnance, when Cromwell who had routed the left wing of the royal army, flew to their assistance and recovered the victory. This was the principal change in the event of this battle, the detail of which at this distance of time would be equally tedious and uninteresting. But we must not omit, that Cromwell, in his account given in to parliament of this and all other successes which were avowedly owing to his own intrepidity and skilful conduct, always gave the honour of the day to Fairfax; which generous behaviour still further endeared him to the General and to the whole army.

Cromwell's next memorable expedition was against the club-men, a kind of freebooters who had formed an army independant of both parties, who, under colour of a shameful example set them by the royalists

ists in the west of England, thought themselves at liberty to subsist by rapine and plunder; they rendered themselves so formidable, that both parties had endeavoured to gain them over, till Cromwell appeared against them, by whom the insurrection was totally quelled.

After this service, he joined Fairfax before Bristol, and advised him to attempt it by storm; accordingly a general assault was made, in so furious a manner, that prince Rupert dreading a second, surrendered, for which he was dismissed the king's service, and ordered to leave the kingdom. This important place being made the head-quarters of the General, Cromwell with a detachment of four regiments made himself master of the strong castle at the Devizes, of the city of Winchester, and of several other places of inferior note, taking prisoners, the marquis of Winchester and other persons of distinction in the king's army, whom he sent to the parliament; he then rejoined Fairfax, and assisted him in taking Dartmouth by storm, after which he defeated lord Hopton at Torrington, and then went in pursuit of the prince of Wales, who was at the head of about 5000 horse and 1000 foot in Cornwall, but the prince unable to give him battle, fled to the isles of Scilly. Exeter surrendered soon after, and the west of England being thus entirely submitted to the parliament, Cromwell went to London in the month of December 1646, took his seat in parliament, and received the thanks of the house for his many and signal services to his country. At the same time the king, then at Oxford, sent no less than ten letters and messages offering to come and reside with the parliament and to disband his forces, provided his followers might be at liberty to return home, and remain unquestioned; but no direct answer was given, till the 30th of March following, when

when a message was sent to his majesty, that it would be unsafe for him to return to Westminster, till he had consented to the propositions they were then framing; and in order to prevent his coming without their consent, the house voted, "that if the king should come, or attempt to come within the lines of communication, that then the committee of the militia of London, should have power, and were thereby enjoined, to apprehend and secure such as should come with him, to prevent resort unto him and to secure his person." The moderate members opposed this message and vote, particularly Denzil, Lord Holles, and Sir Philip Stapleton, but the celebrated patriots Pym and Hampden, the leaders of this party, both dying in 1643, the interest of the presbyterians had insensibly declined, and that of the independants, of which faction Cromwell had made himself chief, had acquired considerable strength, by the self-denying ordinance; and now it evidently appeared that Cromwell had been for some time exerting his political abilities with the same success as his military talents, in subduing one party in the house, and in making the interests of the other subservient to his own ambitious designs; all men saw, that he aimed at the Generalship, but none yet fathomed the deeper design of getting the king into his power; though both these points he had in view when he promoted this severe message and vote. By his correspondence with Fairfax, he knew that the royal cause was almost ruined, and he was unwilling that the king should enter into a personal treaty with a parliament in which he had still many friends, who opposed his mal-administration, but had no evil designs against his person: indeed this character is given of all the presbyterians, and yet it is said, they had a majority in the house at the time of passing the above

vote;

vote : these are contradictions by no means to be reconciled at this distant period.

During these transactions at London, General Fairfax was marching with a powerful army to lay siege to Oxford, which was unable to hold out against him, and in this unhappy situation of affairs, the king unfortunately listened to the advice of Montreuil the French ambassador, and privately repaired to the Scotch army, which then lay before Newark. This unexpected measure greatly afflicted his remaining friends in England, and threw the parliament into the utmost consternation : and now the dissensions between the presbyterians and the independants increased, the former being jealous of the growing power of Cromwell, who ingratiated himself with the latter, and took every measure to circumvent their designs against him. The king by the advice of the Scots, who were secretly in the interest of the English independant faction, gave orders to all his garrisons to surrender. Oxford took the lead, and the civil war being thus in a great measure terminated, General Fairfax entered London in triumph, and received the thanks of the parliament : this business was no sooner over, but a scheme was concerted by the presbyterian party to disband part of the army, particularly some of the independant regiments, and to send the others over to Ireland ; but Cromwell with his usual address, having obtained timely notice of their design, sent colonel Ireton his son-in-law, a man wholly devoted to his interest, to insinuate to the whole army, that the parliament intended to disband them without paying them their arrears, or else to consume them in Ireland with sickness and famine : this so exasperated the soldiers, that when the orders arrived for disbanding some and transporting others, they refused to obey them, and very justly calling in ques-
tion

tion the authority of parliament, they set up a claim to a share in the government, made choice of a number of officers to be a standing council to their General, and selected three or four corporals or sergeants out of each regiment as representatives of the private soldiers, under the title of agitators. The council and the agitators met separately, but communicating their resolves to each other; they were in the end, unanimous in declaring "that they would not be disbanded till their full arrears were paid, and till full provision was made for liberty of conscience, which had been hitherto little secured:" they added, "that as they had voluntarily taken up arms for the liberty and defence of the nation, of which they were a part, before they laid down those arms, they would see all these ends provided for." This declaration was delivered at the bar of the house, by a committee of the army council. And it is generally allowed, that this timely, political manœuvre, not only saved Cromwell from an intended impeachment by Denzil Lord Holles, but laid the foundation of his future power.

Cromwell had such an influence over General Fairfax, that, though he was a presbyterian, he engaged him to write a letter to the parliament in support of a petition from the army, and this had such an effect on the house of commons, that deputies were appointed to treat with a committee of officers, and in the end, the army carried their point. The political address, or, in other words, the duplicity of Cromwell during these transactions, could not escape the notice of the moderate and sensible men of all parties, for while he secretly fomented discontent, and encouraged mutiny in the camp, he openly and bitterly inveighed against the turbulence and licentiousness of the army in parliament, and went so far as to advise violent measures to suppress

press the increasing commotion. Yet as it was well known that the chief mutineers were to a man personally devoted to him; and the army, by the condescension of the house of commons, had now rendered themselves very formidable; those who meditated bringing Cromwell to condign punishment as a traitor to the parliament, were advised by their friends to consult their own safety, in laying aside so dangerous a design; and the opportunity once lost was never to be recovered, for Cromwell, who having intelligence of the private meetings of his enemies, resolved to purge the house of all members obnoxious to him; and a very important event soon furnished him with the means of carrying this scheme into execution.

In the beginning of the year 1647, the Scots, in consideration of the Sum of 400000*l.* pretended to be due to their army for arrears, and to the state for other services, delivered up the king to the commissioners from the English parliament, who were sent to receive him upon the conclusion of this disgraceful contract; which was contrary to their oath of allegiance, and a direct violation of the law of nations, which makes the person of an ambassador sacred, much more that of a sovereign invited to come into their kingdom as a safe asylum, till the unhappy disputes between him and his subjects should be amicably adjusted. Cromwell now resolved to hazard one bold stroke to secure his fortune beyond the probability of a reversal; he plainly perceived a growing inclination in the parliament to treat with the king, and therefore he was determined to circumvent them, by engaging the army to present a dutiful address to his majesty, and by entering into a personal treaty with him, to replace him on the throne, by the assistance of the army, independant of the parliament, and to make him the
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most powerful prince in Europe. Unhappily the king confided in the party he thought most formidable, and as if this was not sufficient, it is said, he sealed his own ruin, by his insincerity in his negotiation with Cromwell. However, to facilitate this negotiation, and to defeat the views of the parliament, Cromwell sent colonel Joyce with a detachment from the army to seize the person of the king at *Holdenby*, commonly called *Holmby-house* in Northamptonshire, and though the formality of taking him prisoner, wears the appearance of terror and violence, yet there is great reason to suspect from the good understanding that had subsisted between the king and the army, and the great respect with which he had been treated by them, that his majesty secretly connived at this plot, to deliver him from the power of the parliament, who had already given him great disgust, by appointing *Marshall* and *Caryll*, two presbyterian ministers, to be his domestic chaplains.

Cromwell, who had hitherto kept fair with the parliament, now threw off the mask, set the house of commons at defiance, and boasted among his friends, "That by having the king in his hands, he had the parliament in his pocket." His majesty was removed to his palace at Newmarket, where he continued to be treated with all due honour and respect by the army; free access was granted to his person, his own chaplains and servants were restored to him, he followed his recreations as he thought proper, and Cromwell made warm professions of attachment to him.

The parliament now perceived that their power and influence was on the decline, and that the army would very soon be their masters, and they began too late to shew a resolute and active conduct, which if it had been exerted in time, in all human

human probability would have stifled the ambition of Cromwell in the birth. The city of London was put in a posture of defence, and it was voted that the army should remove forty miles from London, it was likewise resolved to send dutiful addresses to the king, and forthwith to send him propositions for a reconciliation; but the army, instead of obeying the vote respecting their removal, delivered a representation to the house of commons, desiring that it might be purged of seditious members, and that a period might be fixed for the dissolution of the parliament, complaining that it had sat too long, contrary to the spirit of the constitution: this representation producing no effect, they impeached Denzil Lord Holles, Sir Ed. William Waller, and nine other members, who had always opposed their demands and proceedings, and then to convince the parliament of the little interest they had in the city of London, they excited an insurrection of the citizens, who tumultuously resorted to Westminster, and demanded that the king should be brought to London, and that they should put an end to their sitting: this commotion struck the presbyterian party with such a panic that both houses adjourned in great confusion, and the speakers Lenthal, and the earl of Manchester with about fifty members fled to the army for protection against the London mob, and the eleven impeached members left the kingdom. Cromwell who had raised this storm, secretly enjoyed it, and the king being now at Hampton-court, he openly resorted to him, and so fully convinced him of his power over the army, and of his attachment to him, that when Fairfax tendered his services, his majesty indiscreetly replied, "Sir, I have as good interest in the army as you," which the General took very ill, and from
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that time gave himself no concern about the apparent designs of the King's enemies.

The parliament in their treaty with the king, among other articles had stipulated that Cromwell should be raised to the peerage, only with the title of Baron; but the king in his private negotiation with Cromwell and the army, had promised to create him earl of Essex, to make him a knight of the garter, and to advance his son Richard and his son-in-law Ireton to posts of great honour and emolument: but when this compact was on the point of taking place, one of their spies, who was of the king's bed-chamber informed them, that their final doom was that day fixed, for that a letter was gone to the queen, then in France, sewed up in the skirt of a saddle, the bearer of which would be with the saddle upon his head, at the blue boar inn in Holborn the following night, to take horse for Dover. Upon this intelligence, they dressed themselves in troopers uniforms and repaired to the inn, where they seized on the man, searched his saddle and took out the letter, by which they found, that the king gave it as his opinion, that he should close sooner with the Scotch presbyterians, who in conjunction with the parliament had courted him, than with the army, in which case it would be easier to take off Cromwell, than now that he was at the head of the army. From the period of this discovery, Cromwell's ambition took a larger scope, and aided by personal resentment, he now resolved to attempt the King's destruction and his own advancement to supreme power.

In the mean time, the remains of the parliament recovered from their first consternation at the proceedings of the mob, and the defection of their speakers, met at Westminster and chose new speakers, lord Hunsdon for the upper, and Henry Pelham

ham for the lower house; they then resolved to levy troops to oppose the army, the trained-bands were ordered to guard the lines, and nothing was to be heard in all quarters of the town but the sound of military preparations; but upon the approach of the army, a general dislike to the parliamentary service appeared, and the first detachment presenting itself before Southwark, they were readily admitted by those who were placed there for its defence: the whole army soon followed, and passed through the city to Westminster on the 6th of August, where they replaced Lenthall and the earl of Manchester in their respective chairs; and now the parliament was new modelled, (as the army had been some years before,) by Cromwell and the independants, his creatures; whose proceedings will manifest that the destruction of the king, or what they called bringing him to justice, had been privately resolved upon before they met.

The king informed of the discovery made by Cromwell, and of the triumphant entry of the army into London, suspected his life was in danger, and privately withdrew from Hampton-court to *Titchfield*, a seat of the earl of Southampton's, from whence he was unfortunately persuaded to go to the Isle of Wight, and put himself under the protection of Hammond the governor, nephew to Dr. Hammond the king's favourite chaplain, on which account he was judged a proper person for his majesty to confide in; but it was strangely forgot, that governor Hammond had married a daughter of the famous John Hampden, whose opposition to the king had been one source of his majesty's misfortunes: and by this oversight, instead of an asylum, the unfortunate monarch found a prison, for Hammond was devoted to Cromwell, and immediately sent advice to him of the king's arrival, who thereupon summoned a council of

general officers to meet him at Windsor, where it was debated, what should now be done with the king; and it was resolved, that he should be prosecuted for his life as a traitor to his country. The first step Oliver's party took with this view in parliament was, to procure an order to Hammond to confine the king in Carisbrook castle, and not to suffer any of his friends or adherents to remain on the island. They then drew up four such humiliating propositions that no king of England could possibly agree to, on purpose to ground a heavier criminal charge on his refusal. They are too remarkable to be omitted. In the first place, he was required to acknowledge the war raised against him to be just. Secondly, to abolish episcopacy. Thirdly, to settle the power of the militia in persons nominated by the two houses. Fourthly, to sacrifice all those who had adhered to him. By signing the first proposition, he must have confessed himself a tyrant in the face of the whole world. The second was unconstitutional, and a breach of his coronation oath, yet the guardians of the rights and privileges of the people collectively, who as a nation obliged him to take that oath at his coronation, now insisted upon his breaking it. The third was not less unconstitutional; and the fourth, was the demand of victorious savages. Such humiliating and base terms of accommodation, the king nobly refused. Happy had it been for himself and his people, if a contention for that idle phantom prerogative, had not reduced him to this unhappy situation!

Cromwell and Ireton made themselves conspicuous in this business, they were remarkably bold in the debate upon the king's refusal of the propositions. Cromwell in particular said, "that the king was a man of great understanding, but withal so great a dissembler, and so false a man, that he
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was not to be trusted ;” and it is asserted, that he threatened not only the king, but the parliament, if they gave the army any further cause of jealousy, and even put his hand to his sword at the close of his speech ; the object of which was to enforce the following vote, “ That no more addresses or applications should be made to the king, nor any message received from him, under the penalty of high treason ;” thus was Charles I. deposed by a vote of the house of commons, and if we may give the same credit to the accounts of his insincerity, as we must grant to the history of his mal-administration, he certainly had deserved this punishment, but all further proceedings against him were wholly unjustifiable, and calculated only to set up a worse tyranny than that which had proved fatal to him.

A second civil war broke out in the year 1648, the discontented part of the nation, who disapproved the measures taken against the king, rose in different parts of England, and the Welch appeared with a formidable body in behalf of the king, acting by commission from the prince of Wales. The example once set, associations in support of the royal cause were formed in almost every county, which put the parliament upon vigorous measures, and Cromwell being sent into Wales, where he subdued the Welch forces and took their commanders prisoners ; and the town of Colchester, where the strongest body of the royalists were shut up, being obliged to surrender, this struck such a damp on the minds of the rest, that most of the insurrections were soon quelled and the associations dissolved.

The Scots however, threatened to give the parliament more trouble, for they asserted that the latter had violated the conditions on which they delivered up the king, and they endeavoured to retrieve their national honour, by sending duke Hamilton

into England, at the head of a powerful army, to reinstate the king, but their efforts were now too late, and proving ineffectual, only served to hasten his fate, from an apprehension that every day would produce fresh disturbances in his favour. Cromwell, by his genius and valour, put a stop to this incursion, and to the oppressions which the inhabitants of the North of England laboured under from the brutality and rapine of the Scotch army; having totally routed all their forces, and taken duke Hamilton prisoner; he reduced Carlisle and Berwick, which had revolted from the English, and then entering Scotland in triumph, he caused a proclamation to be made at the head of every regiment in his army, prohibiting upon pain of death, the seizure of any goods or chattles belonging to the Scots, at the same time he declared to the people of Scotland, that he came there with an army only to set their kingdom free from the faction of the Hamiltons, and without any intention to invade their liberties or infringe their privileges. Agreeable to this declaration he marched on to Edinburgh, where he was received with great solemnity by the marquis of Argyle and the magistracy, and having dismissed the Hamilton party from all offices of public trust, he returned to England with every mark of honour and esteem on the part of the Scots, and upon his arrival at London, he took his seat again in parliament; and received the thanks of the house for this signal service, which was the last he performed in his military capacity, till after the king's death.

In all the proceedings relative to the tragical end of Charles I. Cromwell was not only the principal adviser, but the boldest agent, and when others hesitated or suggested doubts about the equity of the intended trial, he opposed them with menaces and arguments alternately, suiting his expedients to the

the parties with whom he had to contend ; and it stands on record, that he was the only man who undertook to overrule the Scotch commissioners who came to England with a protest against putting the king to death.

The formalities and circumstances of this unprecedented trial are familiar to every one, the least conversant in the history of their country, and those who are not, are referred for an ample account of the whole, to Rapin and Carte's histories of England.

The king being put to death, that inconsiderable part of the house of commons which continued sitting, assumed the reins of government under the denomination of a commonwealth ; and sure of the support of the army, they proceeded to acts of supreme and arbitrary power unknown to the constitution of England, and totally subversive of its fundamental principles ; for they voted the extirpation of two of the estates of the realm, kings and peers, declaring the kingly office to be unnecessary and burthensome ; and the house of peers dangerous and useless, and therefore to be laid aside ; but the peers were declared capable of being elected into the house of commons, which degradation was submitted to only by the three following noblemen, the earls of Pembroke and Salisbury, and lord Howard of Escrick ; the rest entered upon their journals and published a protestation in the name of all the peers of the realm against all acts, votes, and orders of parliament, that should be made during their exclusion. The pretended commonwealth likewise issued a proclamation, and afterwards passed an act declaring it high treason to acknowledge or declare Charles Stuart, commonly called the prince of Wales, or any other person, king of England ; and such members as had given their vote for accepting

the concessions of the late king for a peace, were excluded the house; this vote reduced the remainder under one hundred; and these being considered by the cavaliers, (so the friends of Charles II. were denominated,) as the dregs of the long parliament; they called them in derision, *The Rump*.

The next act of the new government was to nominate a council of state consisting of forty persons, Cromwell being one, in whom they vested the executive authority; and from this time all writs formerly running in the king's name, were issued out in the names of "the keepers of the liberty of England;" the old great seal was broken, and a new one made, having on one side a red cross and a harp quartered as the arms of England and Ireland, with this inscription, *The great seal of England*, and on the reverse, a representation of the house of commons assembled, with this legend, *In the first year of freedom, by God's grace restored 1649*. Instead of a head, the same arms were impressed on the coin, with this device, GOD WITH US. A new oath was likewise administered to all persons in office, to be true and faithful to the government established, without king or house of peers.

But as the existence of this mock government depended upon the principal officers of the army, and on Cromwell more than all the rest, it was declared to be high treason for any soldier of the army to contrive the death of the General or Lieutenant-general; and Oliver Cromwell being now provided with a security to his person, abolished the council of agitators, and caused two soldiers of his own regiment of infantry to be shot by two of their comrades, in sight of the whole army, for mutiny upon this occasion.

The army now implicitly obeyed the orders of this enterprising man, and no person was thought
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so proper to reduce the kingdom of Ireland to submission to the new commonwealth, as the expedition was both difficult and dangerous, requiring great personal bravery and address; accordingly, he was appointed Lord Governor of that kingdom in all affairs both civil and military for three years; and all his forces being in readiness for embarkation at Milford Haven, he set out from London on the 10th of July, with great solemnity and splendour, in a coach with six horses, attended by several members of parliament and of the council of state, the officers of his household, and a life-guard consisting of eighty men, who had formerly been commanders, all well mounted and accoutred, both them and their servants.

The marquis of Ormond was at the head of the royalists, and had so bravely supported the cause of the late king, that Londonderry and Dublin were the only places of any consequence that held out for the parliament, and these were in danger of being lost; but before the arrival of Cromwell, colonel Jones who commanded for the parliament, had obliged the marquis to raise the siege of Dublin. In this city Cromwell was received with every demonstration of joy, and now the republican forces being sufficiently powerful, began to act upon the offensive, whereas before, it was as much as they could do to stand their ground: most of the fortified towns being in the hands of the enemy and well garrisoned, Cromwell with his usual intrepidity resolved upon a military exploit which should astonish the Irish, and occasion such a general dread of his arms, that after having given one example of his superiority and severity, he might have little or no trouble in completing his conquests. With this view, he marched to Drogheda, or Tredagh, a very strong place, garrisoned by the flower of the

royal army, under the command of Sir Arthur Aston, an old experienced officer. Having blocked up the town by land, and ordered admiral Ayscough with his fleet to cut off all communication by sea, he summoned the governor to surrender, and upon refusal hung out the red, or bloody ensign, denoting that no quarter is to be expected; and after a warm opposition he took the place by storm, entering the town in person by the breaches which he had made in the walls, a dreadful slaughter ensued, all who bore arms being put to the sword, for which inhumanity he was severely censured, but he justified himself, by alleging, that they had imbrued their hands in the blood of innocent Englishmen, at the massacre of the protestants in 1641, and that it was the only way to prevent the further effusion of blood, as other places would be discouraged from sustaining a siege. But he was obliged to act the same tragedy again at Wexford, after which, the dread of the same fate, affected all the towns and forts along the coast as far as Dublin, and they quietly surrendered one after the other. In short, in about nine months this victorious General, seconded by his son-in-law Ireton, obliged the whole kingdom to submit to the new government; and then he was recalled.

Cromwell's return to England was hastened by the conduct of the Scots, who had sent commissioners to the Hague to treat with Charles II. and having at length prevailed with him to comply with all their demands, they had signed a treaty and acknowledged him for their sovereign, in consequence of which, he had been proclaimed in Scotland, and this being considered by the commonwealth of England as a declaration of war against their government: preparations for the commencement of hostilities were now carried on in both kingdoms with

with great vigour, but when it was proposed by the council of state in England to be beforehand with the Scots, by carrying the war into their country, General, then lord Fairfax, declined taking upon him the command of the expedition, and he had no sooner thrown out hints of his dislike to the service, but Cromwell was ordered home; and on his approach to London, he was met by a prodigious concourse of people; and being come to Tyburn, where a great crowd of spectators were assembled to see him enter, a certain flatterer pointing to the multitude, exclaimed, "Good God! Sir, what a number of people are come hither to welcome you home;" to which he replied with a smile, "but how many more do you think would flock to the same place to see me hanged?" His entry into London was in a manner triumphal, for he was attended by lord Fairfax, who went two miles out of town to meet him, and by the principal citizens, and members of parliament; he was escorted by a troop of horse and a regiment of foot; at Hyde-park he was saluted with cannon, and he was lodged in the palace at Whitehall. On the first of June 1650, the day after his arrival, there were public rejoicings; and when he resumed his seat in parliament, the speaker, in an elegant speech, returned him the thanks of the house, for his great and faithful services in Ireland.

On the 16th of the same month, Charles II. arrived in Scotland, and it being found impracticable to prevail on General Fairfax to commence hostilities, who declared that his conscience was not satisfied as to the justice of the intended war, his offer to lay down his commission was readily accepted. And the parliament soon passed an act unanimously, constituting and appointing Oliver Cromwell, Esq; to be captain general in chief of all the forces raised

and to be raised by authority of parliament, within the commonwealth of England.

From this time lord Fairfax appeared no more in his military capacity, but retired to his seat in Yorkshire, where the leisure of a private life, affording him an opportunity for deliberate reflection, he discovered too late, that he had been made the tool of Cromwell's ambition, and his eyes being opened, he took every opportunity to promote the restoration; in consequence of which, he put himself at the head of a body of Yorkshire gentlemen and joining General Monk, facilitated his march into England. In 1660, he was elected one of the members for the county of York, in the healing parliament, and he was one of the committee appointed to wait on Charles II. at the Hague, to desire him to make a speedy return to his parliament, and to the exercise of the regal authority. After the dissolution of that parliament, he returned again to his seat in the country, where he lived in the most private manner till his death, which happened in November 1671, in the 60th year of his age.

The new General was as successful in Scotland as he had been in Ireland, it even seemed as if the very name of Oliver Cromwell struck a panic wherever he appeared; for the Scots fled before him as he approached, and when at length their army was by stratagem drawn into a general engagement at Dunbar, he totally defeated them, though their numbers more than doubled the English. His signal successes in Scotland, determined Charles II. to march with another army into England to which he was more contiguous, after the battle of Dunbar, than Cromwell; accordingly, he entered by Carlisle, and meeting with little or no opposition, except from major general Lambert at Warrington bridge, he advanced to Worcester
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where he resolved to remain and wait the approach of the enemy. Cromwell was not long after him; on the 3d of September 1651, was fought the battle of Worcester between Charles and Cromwell, when a complete victory was gained by the latter, and the king was obliged to wander about in different parts of the kingdom in disguise, till he found an opportunity to escape to France.

Thus the king's hopes of restoration being crushed for the present, and his friends disheartened in all parts of the three kingdoms, every circumstance concurred to favour the ambition of Cromwell, who now enjoyed a power and state nearly equal to royalty; for on his return from Worcester, he was met beyond Aylesbury, by four commissioners from the parliament, who were instructed to shew him all possible marks of respect; and at Acton, he was met by the speaker, the president of the council, the lord mayor, aldermen and sheriffs of London, and a great number of persons of distinction; a state coach was likewise provided for him to make his entry into London, where he was received with loud acclamations; and the parliament settled lands upon him and his heirs of the yearly value of 4000*l*.

But all the honours conferred upon him, by this unstable government he knew to be precarious, and therefore he began to take measures for assuming a supreme authority over that very body from which he had derived his present greatness. Soon after the battle of Worcester he held a conference, at the speaker's house, with several members of parliament and some of the principal officers of the army, on the state of the nation; and at this meeting, he tampered with the great men in the several departments of the army, the law, and the state, by desiring that they would consider, whether a republic, or a mixed monarchical government would be best for the

the settlement of the liberties of the people on a firm basis; and if any thing monarchical, then in whom that power should be placed; the lawyers, amongst whom was the famous Bulstrode Whitlocke one of the commissioners of the great seal, and the statesmen, were all of them for monarchy; and the officers of the army for a perfect republic; but tho' the majority of opinions was in favour of monarchy, yet Cromwell had the mortification to find that the duke of Gloucester, one of the late king's sons, was nominated as the proper person, in case a mixed monarchy was admitted.

This was so contrary to his expectations, after the universal respect and adulation lately paid to him, that it required the utmost exertion of his political skill, to enable him to conceal his resentment: with great dexterity however, he changed the conference to some other subject of debate; but from this time, it seems as if he had determined to carry his point at all events; for he continually opened his mind to such of the council of state as were his most intimate friends, and sounded their inclinations separately. His arguments with Whitlocke upon the subject of ascending the throne, may be found at large, in the second edition of "Whitlocke's memorials of the English affairs; or historical account of what passed from the beginning of the reign of Charles I. to king Charles II. his happy restoration," London 1732. He likewise sent for some of the most eminent divines in the city, particularly Dr. Edmund Calamy, whose influence was general, and his authority, founded in esteem, almost as great, in spiritual matters, as an archbishop's. This honest minister very boldly opposed the project of Cromwell's assuming the supreme power under any title or form whatever; and offered to prove it both unlawful and impracticable. Cromwell

well in reply to the illegality, appealed to the safety of the nation; and then asked him, why it was impracticable. "Because, said Calamy, it is against the voice of the nation; there will be nine in ten against you:" Very well, answered Cromwell, but what if I should disarm the nine, and put the sword into the tenth man's hand, would not that do the business?" This was the language of a determined tyrant, and it is astonishing, that having spoken this without reserve, and clearly unfolded his design to most of the principal persons who held the reins of the new government, and utterly abhorred it, that no measures were taken to oppose him, before he had time to resort to the army, where they knew his power was unlimited.

A war indeed had broke out with the Dutch in 1652, and some of the leading men of the republican party both in the parliament and the council of state, had it in agitation to augment the navy and reduce the army, under the pretext that a war against the Dutch would be most successfully carried on by sea, and that the nation was not able to bear the expence of a large standing army, and a powerful navy. Cromwell saw into this scheme to lessen his influence, and, without loss of time, made it answer his own purposes. For, repairing to the army, he excited the principal officers to draw up a petition to the parliament, demanding the payment of their arrears, and affirming, that the public revenues, if honestly and wisely managed would be sufficient for the regular subsistence of the present land army, notwithstanding any proposed augmentation of the navy. This petition produced a warm debate, in the course of which, Cromwell's friends took an opportunity to remove one obstacle to his plan of usurpation: under pretence of lessening the national expences, it was moved and carried,

ried, that the duke of Gloucester, who since the execution of his father, had been kept as a kind of state prisoner at St. James's, should be sent abroad, in a private manner, with the promise of a pension, if he did not join the king, nor any of his relations; accordingly, he was sent to Dunkirk in a sloop of war, with only two servants to attend him; but soon after his landing he went to the princess of Orange at Breda, and from thence to the king his brother at Paris. The parliament voted that the officers should be reprimanded for their insolent petition, and they were forbid to intermeddle in the administration of government: this step increased the mutiny, a remonstrance was now delivered in on the part of the army, complaining that the parliament had not performed its promise to dissolve itself, agreeable to a former petition presented by their body; they therefore desired that they would now put an end to their administration, that there might be a regular succession of parliaments; and that they would appoint a council of state, to take charge of the public affairs, till a new parliament was elected and convoked. Cromwell's party supported a motion for dissolving the parliament, in consequence of this remonstrance, but the question was lost by a considerable majority, and it was resolved, that it was not a proper time to dissolve the parliament, while the nation had a war, and a great many important affairs in hand; but that the vacant seats should be filled up by new elections; a committee was likewise appointed to prepare a bill to make it high treason to present such petitions, or remonstrances.

Cromwell finding the parliament in this disposition, and well knowing that a motion for disbanding great part of the army would soon be made, found he had no time to lose, and therefore, after holding

holding a private consultation with the officers, and some of the members of parliament in his interest, he resolved on a more daring act of usurped authority, than any that had ever before been attempted in a nation, whose civil liberty is its chief glory.

On the 20th of April 1653, while the house was actually debating on a motion for continuing the parliament above a year and a half longer, he entered it, accompanied by a number of officers who were most devoted to him, leaving in Westminster hall, upon the stairs, and in the lobby, a chosen detachment of soldiers, to the amount of about 300 men. After attending quietly in his place for some time, to the debates, he whispered major general Harrison, that he now thought the parliament ripe for a dissolution, who requested him to think seriously, before he undertook so dangerous an action. "You say well," replied Cromwell, and sat still about a quarter of an hour, when the debates being ended, and the speaker preparing to put the question, he said to Harrison, this is the time I must do it; and so standing up on a sudden, he bade the speaker leave the chair, and told the house, they had sat long enough, unless they had done more good; then charging several individuals with their private vices, he told them in general, that they had not a heart to do any thing for the public good; but only an intention to perpetuate themselves in power. And when some of them began to speak, he stepped into the midst of the house, and said, come, come, I will put an end to your prating. Then walking up and down the house, he cried out, you are no parliament, I say you are no parliament; and stamping with his feet, he bade them begone, and give place to honest men; for the Lord had done with them, and had made choice
of

of other instruments. The stamping on the floor, being the signal, the soldiers entered, and he said to one of them, take away that fool's bauble, the mace; and the speaker still keeping the chair, Harrison rudely pulled him out by the arm. After this, Cromwell told the members, they had forced him to this, then seizing all the papers upon the table, he ordered the soldiers to clear the house, and this being done, he locked the doors, put the keys in his pocket and returned to Whitehall with his retinue. Some ingenious French historians, ever fond of lessening the national importance of our parliaments, have asserted, that he put a bill upon the door with these words, "This house to lett."

He acted the same part by the council of state in the afternoon; on entering the chamber at Whitehall where they were assembled, he spoke thus to them. "Gentlemen, if you are met here as private persons, you shall not be disturbed; but if as a council of state, this is no place for you; and since you cannot but know what was done at the house in the morning, so take notice that the parliament which appointed you is dissolved." Bradshaw the president, boldly answered, Sir, we have heard what you did at the house in the morning; and before many hours all England will hear of it; but Sir, you are mistaken to think that the parliament is dissolved; for no power under heaven can dissolve them but themselves, therefore take you notice of that: but the council finding themselves under the same military force, all quietly departed. The government, such as it had been since the sacrifice of the king, was now effectually dissolved, and in the general consternation into which the whole nation was thrown, any constitution whatever would have been acceptable; for the people were prepared for blind submission to the ruling power

power held by the sword; but though the plan of a republic had been set on foot, by some of the greatest men for learning and integrity, that this nation had ever produced, and beyond their intentions, they had even consented to the king's death, as the only expedient to establish it, yet not a man of them dared to ask Cromwell, to produce any instrument or commission from the army or any body of men in the kingdom, investing him with authority over their new formed commonwealth; and notwithstanding they had timely notice of his designs, no attempt was made so much as to raise the militia, or to call upon the civil power to aid them against the encroachments of the army; tho' the writs by which the civil magistrates acted were, as we have seen, in the name and by the authority of the commonwealth, and they had sworn to be faithful to the same. We must therefore conclude, that they were great politicians in theory, but not true patriots, for they shrunk from the approach of danger, and though they had sat in judgment and condemned a disarmed, defenceless king, had not the spirit to arrest a successful traitor to his country, whose power was of their own creation.

Cromwell now made a second trial, to obtain from his friends, an invitation to assume the reins of government; but most of them still persisting to oppose his ruling alone, he was obliged to nominate a new council of state, consisting chiefly of officers of the army, and these prepared a form of summons, to be issued in the name of Oliver Cromwell captain general of the forces, to one hundred and forty persons selected by the council to represent the whole kingdom in parliament, and to share with the council, the administration of government. These were taken from the lowest classes of the people,

people, and a leatherfeller in Fleetstreet, named Praise-God Barebones, being an active man, and a great speaker in this contemptible assembly, it was called in derision, Barebones' parliament.

A striking absurdity in summoning this mock parliament must not be passed over-unnoticed, which is, that Oliver Cromwell continued the stile and title at large, conferred on him, by that very parliament he had so shamefully dissolved and with whose dissolution, the instrument appointing him to be captain general, &c. became null and void: the commonwealth no longer existing.

The case with respect to the new house of commons was directly the reverse, for they were elected, and the administration of government deputed to them by Cromwell and his council of officers, and the time of executing their authority was limited to the 3d of November 1654, by which it was evident, that nothing more was meant by Cromwell than to gain time to complete his scheme of usurpation.

While these important changes took place in England, the government of Ireland had devolved on lieutenant general Edmund Ludlow, by the demise of Ireton, who died of the plague at Limerick in November 1651. Ludlow was a zealous republican, though of the independent sect; he was an able and successful general, to whose valour and military skill the long parliament had been greatly indebted, and even Cromwell himself, for many signal victories. His authority and influence in the army was so considerable as to excite Cromwell's jealousy, and though he had been violent in his measures against Charles I. was a principal promoter of the vote for receiving no more messages from him, had sat upon his trial, and signed the warrant for his execution; he no sooner discovered the ambitious

tious designs of Cromwell but he opposed them publicly and privately, and this occasioned his being sent over to Ireland, to act under Ireton. And as soon as Cromwell had dissolved the long parliament, he sent General Fleetwood to supersede him in the chief command in Ireland, that he might lessen the weight of his opposition to his usurpation. Upon Cromwell's being declared protector, General Ludlow used his utmost endeavours to prevent his being proclaimed in Ireland, but without success, after which, he refused to act under his authority in any department of the civil government, but he would not surrender up his commission. Soon after the appointment of Henry Cromwell to the government of Ireland, Ludlow came to England, and was closely examined by Oliver and his council, when he so freely declared his sentiments against the new form of government, that the Protector was upon the point of committing him, but Ludlow reminding him of an article in the famous petition of right, he found it expedient to dismiss him. After this he retired into the country, and remained unmolested during Oliver Cromwell's administration. After his death, a new parliament being called, he sat in it, upon being excused from taking the oath, not to act against Richard Cromwell; and now he used all his endeavours to bring about the establishment of a commonwealth, and when Richard Cromwell resigned, he went over to Ireland commander in chief; but the restoration taking place soon after, and the judges of the late king being required by proclamation to surrender, he went abroad and resided at Geneva, Laufann and Vevay, till the revolution, when he came to England, in order to exert his old age in that glorious cause, and expecting to be employed in Ireland against the popish and other adherents of James II. But some time after his public

lic appearance at London, an address was presented to king William by the house of commons, for a proclamation to apprehend colonel Ludlow, attainted of the murder of Charles I. which obliged him to fly precipitately to his former place of exile, Vevay in Switzerland, where he died in 1693, in the 73d year of his age.

Whitlocke, another powerful obstacle in the way of Cromwell's advancement to the protectorship, was craftily sent on an embassy to Christina queen of Sweden, and his appointment was accompanied with such marks of honour, that he could not with decency refuse it. Accordingly, he embarked at Gravesend on the 5th of November 1653 with a splendid retinue, and on the 12th of December following; the little, (as it is sometimes called) or Barebones' parliament, voted, that their sitting any longer would not be for the good of the commonwealth, and that it was fit they should resign their powers to the lord general. Their resignation was followed by that of the council of officers, after which, a private consultation was held at Whitehall, by a junto of officers and lawyers, the creatures of Cromwell, when it was resolved, that he should be invested with the supreme authority, under the title of lord protector of the three nations; and an instrument of government was prepared accordingly. All things being ready for this fresh revolution, proper notice was given for the solemnity of his inauguration, which was performed with great ceremony in the court of chancery in Westminster-hall on the 16th of the same month: Oliver after having subscribed and sworn to govern according to the aforesaid instrument, was seated covered, in a chair of state, when the commissioners delivered up the great seal, and the lord mayor of London his sword, and the keys of the city, with the usual formalities observed

to king, which he returned with the same state, and then the court arose, and went in procession to Whitehall, the lord mayor carrying the sword of state before the protector.

The supreme legislative power, according to the new form of government was lodged in the protector and the parliament. The executive, in the protector and his council, who were not to exceed twenty one, nor be less than thirteen in number. All writs, patents, and commissions to be in the name of the protector, and all honours and offices to be derived from him; in a word, he was vested with all the best rights and privileges of a king of England, and as to the privileges of the people, they were better provided for by this instrument of government, than by any other, if it had been adhered to strictly and impartially, for triennial parliaments were established, and a more equal representation of the people, admitting the elections to be free; the number of members to be sent to parliament by each county, city and borough, being regulated in proportion to the sums paid by each towards the national expence, which determined in a great measure, their extent and importance; and many of the smaller boroughs, so often complained of, and, in our day, discovered to be the rotten part of the constitution, were totally excluded. No laws to be altered, suspended, abrogated or repealed, nor any new law made, nor any tax, charge, or imposition laid upon the people, but by common consent in parliament; and bills passed in parliament were declared to have the force of laws, twenty days after they should be offered to the protector, tho' his assent should be refused. The office of protector to be elective, not hereditary. These are the most material points contained in the instrument, which consisted of *forty-two* articles.

We

We shall find in the sequel, that Cromwell's ambition did not stop here, but having once acquired the supreme power, we must attend him in his administration of government, which was equally glorious to himself and to the nation, so far as it respected the foreign concerns of the three kingdoms, and the administration of justice at home.

The protector being proclaimed in London and Westminster, and all over England, with the same solemnity as the kings of England had been formerly, he was invited to dine with the lord mayor of London, and he went into the city with as much state as ever any king had done upon a like occasion; and the rejoicings being over on account of his inauguration, he proceeded to public business. The first grand national service he performed was, to conclude an honourable peace with the Dutch, by which he obtained the restitution of a settlement in the East-indies which had been taken from the English in the reign of James I. and 300000*l.* as an indemnification for the damages sustained by the English factors or their heirs, by the cruel massacre at Amboyna in the same reign: these two points had been the subject of many fruitless negotiations, but the spirit and firmness of Cromwell and the dread of his fleets and armies, procured ample satisfaction. The peace between England and Holland was proclaimed at London on the 17th of April 1654, with great solemnity, and the people shewed the greatest demonstrations of joy, and of gratitude to the protector. In the next place, he entered into an advantageous alliance with France; at the same time, his friendship was courted by the kings of Spain and Portugal, and splendid embassies were sent from both, to congratulate him on his accession to his new dignity.

While

While the several ambassadors of the most considerable princes of Europe were thus paying their court to this fortunate usurper, an accident happened at London, the consequences of which filled all Europe with admiration and astonishment, made the very name of Cromwell respectable in all parts of the known world, and established his character as a great man, who would make himself feared by sea and land.

The affair is thus related in brief by the best contemporary historians. Don Pantaloon de Saa, brother to the Portuguese ambassador, being proud of his rank and his reputation as a soldier, conceiving that he had received an affront one day from some English gentleman at the new exchange, repaired thither on the morrow, accompanied by his domestics, and about fifty Portuguese, armed with swords and pistols, when mistaking colonel Mayo for Mr. Anthuser, the gentleman they went in search of, they fell upon him, and gave him seven dangerous wounds, after which, they wantonly shot Mr. Greenway of Lincoln's-inn, through the head; this gentleman was walking upon the exchange with two ladies, and was totally ignorant of the affront which had happened the preceding day, in which the Portuguese had been the aggressors; for colonel Gerard understanding french, overheard them discoursing on the public affairs of England, upon which he told them politely, that they misrepresented certain facts, whereupon one of Don Pantaloon's company gave the colonel the lie, and three of them falling upon him, he was stabbed in the shoulder with a dagger; in this extremity Mr. Anthuser came to his assistance and rescued him, for which they vowed vengeance on that gentleman; but not finding him, committed the above outrage and murder on innocent persons. They likewise brought several jars

jars of gunpowder in their coaches, stopped down with wax, and matches; intending, as it was supposed, to do some mischief to the exchange, if they had not been prevented. The horse guards at the mews were sent for to quell the riot, who seized some of the Portuguese, but the greatest part fled for refuge to the ambassador's house, upon which Col. Whalley invested it with a party of horse; and dispatched a messenger to inform the protector of his proceedings. The ambassador at first ordered his domestics to stand to their arms, but Whalley having received instructions to insist upon his delivering up his brother and the principal rioters to the peace officers, he thought proper to comply, and contented himself with complaining to Cromwell of this violation of the law of his nation, by infringing the privileges of ambassadors, whose houses and persons are held to be exempt from the jurisdiction of the country wherein they reside. Cromwell with great magnanimity replied, that justice must be done, and that blood must be satisfied with blood. All the other foreign ambassadors in London warmly interested themselves in this unhappy affair, not conceiving it possible, that a man of Don Pantaloön's high quality, a knight of Malta, and the brother of an ambassador, ought to be questioned for the murder of an obscure Englishman; but all their remonstrances were ineffectual; the fact was notorious, and Don Pantaloön being tried by a jury, half English, and half foreigners, was condemned, and beheaded on Tower-hill, on the 10th of July, 1654; and so coolly did Cromwell proceed in this admirable example of justice, that he concluded a treaty of peace with the ambassador, highly advantageous to England, almost at the very hour that his brother was led to execution.

Cromwell

Cromwell being now at peace with all the principal powers of Europe, proceeded with great firmness in the domestic administration of government; but still there was a strong party against him in the nation, and though by the instrument of government care had been taken, that the house of commons should be in a great measure of his own choosing, yet when they came to meet, which was on Sunday the third of September, notwithstanding a flattering speech from the protector, in which he extolled the advantages already derived from the new form of government, and styled himself not their master, but their fellow-labourer; their first deliberations were employed in examining and calling in question the authority by which they were convened. Cromwell, astonished at this unexpected measure, summoned them to the painted chamber, where he changed his style to that of a master, and reprimanded them for presuming to doubt an authority from which their own was derived; and upon their return to the house, they found a guard at the door, who would not suffer any member to enter, till he had signed a recognition "that he would be true and faithful to the lord protector, and that he would not propose or give consent to alter the government, as it is settled in one single person, and a parliament." This recognition was subscribed the first day, by 130 members, and afterwards, by others to the amount of 300; but major Harrison for his refusal was secured by a party of horse, and was deprived of his commission in the army, together with Overton, Rich, and Okey, who had great influence in the army, and had strenuously opposed him from the time of his assuming the office of protector. Many who had signed the recognition did it only upon compulsion, and detesting this arbitrary step, engaged secretly in a conspiracy with the cavaliers

against his person and government, promising to rise in arms in different parts of the kingdom; but the protector who had exact intelligence from his spies of all their proceedings, resolved if they did oppose him, it should not be as a public body, but only as private men, and therefore dissolved them abruptly, eleven days before the expiration of the time limited by the instrument of government; and he took care to inform them, that he was apprised of their designs. This packed house of commons however, voted him the protectorship for life, and assigned him all the royal palaces for his use; and he now never appeared in public, but with a splendour and retinue which exceeded the pomp of royalty. A fruitless insurrection in the west under the conduct of Sir John Wagstaff and the colonels Penruddock, Groves and Jones, opened the domestic transactions of the year 1655. They entered Salisbury, seized on the judges and sheriffs at the time of the lent assizes, and obliged them to proclaim the king, but their small force amounting to only 200, horse, was soon after defeated by colonel Butler, and Penruddock and Groves being taken prisoners, were executed at Exeter.

This attempt of the cavaliers exasperated Cromwell, who, instead of a protector, became a tyrant; for he issued an edict for levying the tenth of the estates of all who professed themselves, or were suspected to be cavaliers, and the most obnoxious of the royal party were seized and transported to America. In order to levy the cruel and oppressive imposition he had laid upon those who remained at home, he divided the whole kingdom of England into twelve districts, and appointed a major general over each, who with the assistance of commissioners, were empowered to decimate whoever they pleased, to levy all taxes imposed by the protector and his council, and

and to seize and imprison any person whom they should suspect: vested with such illegal powers, they necessarily became petty tyrants, and so oppressed the people, that Cromwell, for his own safety, was obliged to abolish their office, but not till they had answered his ends, by extirpating, or subjecting the cavaliers.

Such a general disaffection to the government now prevailed, that seditious publications appeared every day, in which the protector was stigmatized as a tyrannical usurper, and openly menaced with deposition and condign punishment; upon which an order of council was issued against publishing any news papers without leave of the secretary of state, or any books or pamphlets without a licence.

In September 1656, Cromwell's third assembly, under the denomination of a parliament, met at Westminster, and having successfully influenced the election, he now found the house filled with his creatures. The first act they made was to "renounce and disannul the title of Charles Stuart unto the sovereign dominions of the nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland." The second was to "make it high treason to conspire the death of the protector." In short, they proceeded in every thing just as Cromwell wished; they approved of the alliance he had entered into with France in the course of the preceding year; and of the war against Spain, which was the consequence of it, and they granted large supplies to carry it on with vigour. At length, the time limited for their session approaching, Pack, an alderman of London, and one of its members, made a formal motion, that Cromwell should be elected king, which threw the whole house into confusion. The opposition to it proceeded chiefly from the officers of the army, who openly declared, that if Cromwell accepted the crown, they would

resign their commissions, and should no longer have it in their power to serve him, but notwithstanding their opposition, the motion was approved by a great majority, and a bill was prepared accordingly, which was presented to the protector on the 4th of April, 1657, with an address, intitled, their humble advice and petition: the principal drift of it being to persuade him to accept the crown; but he now for the first time, made it manifest to the whole world, that all his power was derived from, and dependant on the army: for having consulted some of the general officers apart, while the bill was preparing in the house, and finding even Fleetwood his son in law, who had married Ireton's widow, and Desborough his brother in law utterly averse to it, he would not venture to give the house a direct answer; but in order to gain time, and in expectation of prevailing with the army, he desired that a committee might be appointed to confer with him on this important affair. In the mean time, Desborough applied to colonel Pride, imparting to him the protector's design to accept the crown, upon which he boldly replied, "he shall not," and desired a petition to the house might be drawn, which was accordingly done by the learned Dr. Owen.

The next day, most of the officers quartered in town, went with colonel Pride to the house of commons, and sent in a message to Desborough to let him know that they had a petition to the house, which they desired him to present, but he thought it most prudent only to move, that they might be called in and present it themselves, to which the house not suspecting the contents, readily assented; and the petition being delivered by lieutenant colonel Mason, was read, and found to contain in substance "that they had hazarded their lives against monarchy, and were still ready so to do, that finding an
attempt

attempt was making to press their General to take upon him the title and government of a king, in order to destroy him, they humbly desired that the house would discountenance all such endeavours, and the protector finding he was circumvented, went to the house, and sent for the commons to the painted chamber, where with a great appearance of humility, and as if actuated by pious sentiments, he declared that he could not undertake the government with the title of king; but it was evident that he intended to exercise the supreme authority, under any other title whatever. The house thereupon drew up a new deed or instrument of government, under the title of the humble petition and advice, by which his title of protector was confirmed for his life, he was empowered to nominate a successor, an annual revenue was settled upon him, and his powers in some respects were enlarged, but they were diminished in others, and he afterwards felt the weight of this alteration: he was likewise empowered to form another house of parliament, the members of which should enjoy their seats for life, and exercise some functions of the former house of peers. Herein his usual policy forsook him, for he hoped to make the seats in this other house of his own appointing, so many rewards, or bribes to secure to himself a set of favourites wholly devoted to him, but he was miserably disappointed, for by the translation of some of his most zealous friends into the upper house, room was made in the lower assembly for several of the republican members formerly excluded, who were now re-elected, and a majority was thereby formed in that house against the form of government in a single person, whether distinguished by the title of king, protector, or captain general. The legality of the new instrument called the humble petition and advice, was disputed with

great reason, as being enacted by a parliament deprived of its liberty, a great number of the members having been excluded by military force for refusing to subscribe the recognition. Upon this ground they refused to acknowledge the authority of the other house, and Cromwell proceeded to menaces; but the commons paid no regard either to his threats or his authority, upon which he was obliged to have recourse to the old expedient of dissolving the house; and from this time, in imitation of CHARLES I. he governed without a parliament.

While his power was thus declining at home, the public concerns of the nation abroad were conducted with such spirit and policy, and attended with such success, that the power, political interest, and commerce of England were better supported than they had been at any other period, since the reign of Elizabeth.

Spain declared war against England, in 1655, in consequence of Cromwell's treaty of peace and alliance with France; and in the month of June in the same year, his admirals Penn and Venables took Jamaica, a valuable island in the West-indies, belonging to the Spaniards, which from that time has remained part of the British empire, and has proved to be a very profitable commercial acquisition. As to the glorious naval expeditions under the conduct of admiral Blake, the reader will find a full account of them in the life of that renowned commander. An English army being sent to Flanders to assist the French in the conquest of that country, gave signal proofs of the bravery and excellent discipline of his forces; and had the principal share in taking Mardyke and Dunkirk, which were put into the hands of the English; and the latter remained to the crown of Great Britain till it was sold by CHARLES II. in 1662, for 500000*l.* a measure which

which has been warmly condemned by our historians; but the only fault was the misapplication of the money, being expended by his majesty in the support of his mistresses, instead of coming into the public treasury: for, with respect to the place itself, whoever is well acquainted with its situation, cannot but know that it must have been attended with a very heavy national expence, and a continual loss of men, to have kept possession of it, while the French were masters of Lisle, and from the center of their kingdom, could send down large armies to that garrison, from which detachments could be continually draughted off to annoy Dunkirk, equally accessible likewise by sea, so that it required a strong naval and land force for its defence.

Cromwell, though in alliance with France, would not submit to the encroaching spirit of that people, who in the rivalry of commerce are perpetually endeavouring to take advantage of the English, even in times of peace and amity. The magnanimity of his conduct upon the following occasion does honour to his memory. An English merchant ship was taken by a French man of war in the British channel, carried into St. Malo's, and there confiscated on the pretext, that she was carrying on a contraband trade to the coast of France: the master of the ship, a quaker, upon his return home, presented a petition to the protector in council, stating his case, and praying for redress. Upon hearing the petition Cromwell told the council, that he would take that affair upon himself, and he ordered the quaker to attend him the next morning; and being convinced that he had not been concerned in any unlawful trade, he asked him, if he could go with a letter to Paris; the man answering in the affirmative, he ordered him to prepare for his journey, and to wait on him again the next morning, when he gave him

a letter for cardinal Mazarine, prime minister to Louis XIV. then in his minority; and told him to wait only three days for an answer. "The answer I mean," said the protector, "is the full value of your ship and cargo, and tell the cardinal if it is not paid you in that space of time, you have orders from me to return home." The quaker punctually executed his commission, for not obtaining satisfaction, he returned as he was ordered; and went to the protector, who immediately asked him, if he had got his money; and upon his answering that he had not, he told him, he should very soon hear from him. Oliver, instead of commencing a tedious ministerial negociation, during the continuation of which, the injured subject is often ruined, sent some men of war into the channel to make reprisals, and in a few days they brought in two or three French merchant ships, which the protector sold by public sale, and out of the produce, he paid the quaker the value of his ship and cargo; then sending for the French resident, he gave him the account stated debtor and creditor, and told him there was a balance in his favour, which should be paid to him, that he might remit it, if he thought proper, to the owners of the French ships that had been sold to pay the quaker.

The French ministry after this remarkable transaction dreaded giving him the least offence, and even submitted to his interference in disputes with their protestant subjects, the Huguenots, whom he took under his protection. Indeed his zeal for the protestant interest in Europe was as conspicuous as it was laudable; for the duke of Savoy, having persecuted the Vaudois, his protestant subjects, massacring many, and driving others into exile, he applied to the French court, knowing that the duke of Savoy was under French influence, and obliged

Mazarine

Mazarine to apply to the duke to stop the persecution; he also wrote to the duke upon the occasion, and would not be satisfied, till the Vaudois were indemnified for their losses, and their former privileges renewed.

We are now arrived at the concluding scene of the life of this fortunate usurper. In the course of the year 1657, plots upon plots were formed, against his person and government, by the republicans and the cavaliers, which though they were discovered, gave him great uneasiness, and the anxiety of his mind began to affect his health; a pamphlet was likewise published, written by colonel Titus, intitled, "Killing no murder," which filled him with such apprehensions of being assassinated, that he wore a coat of mail under his cloaths, carried loaded pistols in his pockets, and hardly ever slept two nights together in the same chamber. The year 1658 opened with a public avowal of his fears, by rigorous prosecutions of sundry persons of rank for being concerned in conspiracies against him, and for want of legal evidence of their guilt, they were tried before new created tribunals, and condemned to die, without a jury, by judges, who were their sworn enemies. These tribunals, were called "High courts of justice," and by them were condemned as traitors, Sir Henry Slingsby, Dr. Hewet an eminent divine of the church of England, colonel Ashton, Mr. Stacy and Mr. Bestley; the two first were beheaded; but the others suffered the usual sentence for traitors, and were executed with great barbarity by Cromwell's express orders, as a terror to others. At length, increasing vexation, and probably the weight and coldness of the armour he constantly wore, brought on a double tertian ague, and the hot fits of which becoming very violent, about the middle of August, he removed from Hampton-court to Whitehall,

and soon after his physicians pronounced his case to be desperate: of his behaviour during his illness, such various and contradictory accounts have been given by different writers, according as they were influenced by religion, party, or prejudice, that it is difficult to find a medium which may be supposed to approach the nearest to truth. Of all the accounts however, in the opinion of the editor of this work, Ludlow's, in his memoirs, appears to be the most candid, and probable: he therefore gives it a place here, in his own words.

“ When the symptoms of death were apparent upon him, and many ministers and others assembled in a chamber at Whitehall, praying for him, he manifested so little remorse of conscience for having betrayed the public cause, by sacrificing it to the idol of his own ambition, that some of his last words were rather becoming a mediator than a sinner, recommending to God the condition of the nation that he had so infamously cheated, and expressing a great care of the people whom he had so manifestly despised. But he seemed, above all, concerned for the reproaches he said men would cast upon his name in trampling on his ashes when dead, in this temper of mind he departed this life.” And from this concise sketch of his dying sentiments, carefully compared with the transactions of his life, an unprejudiced student may be able to form a juster character of this extraordinary man, than from any of the numerous delineations of it, in those fulsome panegyrics in prose and verse, composed by his adulators, or in those scurrilous libels penned by his adversaries, and offered up as incense to the sacred majesty of kings. Cromwell himself appears to have had great hopes of his recovery, by his deferring to name his successor, till the very night before his death, which happened on the 3d of September,
a date,

a date, which had been twice remarkably fortunate to him; from which circumstance the enthusiasts around him drew the happiest presages of his future state. He was buried with greater pomp than many of our kings, in Westminster-abbey, after having lain in state at Somerset house, at the expence, (according to Salmon's chronological historian) of 60000*l*. The descriptions given of his person are, that he was rather above the middle stature, had a manly stern aspect, and a robust constitution, able to endure the greatest bodily fatigues, and the closest application to business.

Oliver Cromwell's surviving issue were, 1, Richard his successor. 2, Henry lord lieutenant of Ireland. 3, Bridget married first to Ireton, and after his death, to Fleetwood. 4, Mary married to lord Falconberg. 5, Frances, married first to Mr. Rich, grandson to the earl of Warwick, and after his death, to Sir John Russel of Chippenham. He had another daughter whose name was Elizabeth, married to John Claypole, Esq; his master of the horse, and though all his daughters were ladies possessed of extraordinary natural and acquired accomplishments, Mrs. Claypole was his favorite, and her death, which preceded his own but a short time, lay heavy at his heart, and it is said, greatly contributed to hasten his dissolution.

*** Authorities.* Rapin. Harris's life of Cromwell. Ludlow's memoirs. Salmon's chronological historian.

☞ The remaining transactions of the inter-regnum will be found in the Life of General Monk.

The LIFE of
ADMIRAL BLAKE.

[A. D. 1598, to 1657.]

ROBERT BLAKE, celebrated in the annals of Britain, as one of her bravest naval commanders, was the son of a merchant at Bridgewater in Somersetshire; and was born there in the year 1598. Of his infant years we know nothing more than that he received the first rudiments of his education at the grammar school of Bridgewater. He went from thence to Oxford in 1615, where he was entered at St. Alban's-hall. From thence he removed to Wadham college. On the 10th of February 1617, he took the degree of batchelor of arts. In 1623, he wrote a copy of verses on the death of Mr. Camden; and soon after left the university. He was tinctured pretty early with republican principles, and disliking that severity with which Dr. Laud, then bishop of Bath and Wells, pressed uniformity in his diocese, he began to fall into the puritanical opinions. The natural bluntness and sincerity of his disposition led him to speak freely upon all occasions, insomuch that his sentiments being generally known, the puritan party got him elected member for Bridgewater, in 1640. When the civil war broke out, he declared for the parliament. In 1643, he was at Bristol, under the command

command of col. Fiennes, who intrusted him with a little fort on the line, and, as lord Clarendon informs us, when prince Rupert attacked Bristol, and the governor had agreed to surrender it upon articles, Mr. Blake nevertheless for some time, held out his fort, and killed several of the king's forces, which exasperated prince Rupert to such a degree, that he talked of hanging him, had not some friends interposed, and excused him on account of his want of experience in war. He served afterwards in Somersetshire, under the command of Popham, governor of Lyme, and as he was much beloved in those parts, he had such good intelligence there, that he, in conjunction with Sir Robert Pyc, surprized Taunton for the parliament. In 1644, he was appointed governor of this place, which was of the utmost importance, being the only garrison the parliament had in the west. The works about it were not strong, nor was the garrison numerous, yet by his strict discipline, and kind behaviour to the townsmen, he found means to keep the place, though not properly furnished with supplies, notwithstanding he was sometimes besieged, and often blocked up by the king's forces. At length Goring having come before the place with near ten thousand men, made a breach, and actually took part of the town; Blake, however still held out the other part, and the castle, till relief came. For this service, the parliament ordered the garrison a bounty of two thousand pounds, and the governor a present of five hundred. When the parliament had voted no farther addresses should be made to the king, colonel Blake joined in an address from the borough of Taunton, expressing their gratefulness for this step taken by the house of commons. However, when the king came to be tried, Blake disapproved of that measure, as illegal, and was frequently
heard

heard to say, he would as freely venture his life to save the king's, as ever he did to serve the parliament. But this is thought to have been chiefly owing to the humanity of his temper, since after the death of the king, he fell in wholly with the republican party, and, next to Cromwell, was the ablest officer the parliament had. In 1649, he was appointed to command the fleet, in conjunction with colonel Deane, and colonel Popham. Soon after he was ordered to sail, with a squadron of men of war, in pursuit of prince Rupert. Blake came before Kinsale in June 1649, where prince Rupert lay in harbour. He kept him in the harbour till the beginning of October, when the prince despairing of relief by sea, and Cromwell being ready to take the town by land, provisions of all sorts falling short, he resolved to force his way through Blake's squadron, which he effected with the loss of three of his ships. The prince's fleet steered their course to Lisbon, where they were protected by the king of Portugal. Blake sent to the king for leave to enter, and coming near with his ships, the castle shot at him; upon which he dropt anchor, and sent a boat to know the reason of this hostility; the captain of the castle answered, he had no orders from the king to let his ships pass: however, the king commanded one of the lords of the court to wait upon Blake, and to desire him not to come in except the weather proved bad, lest some quarrel should happen between him and prince Rupert; the king sent him, at the same time, a large present of fresh provisions. The weather proving bad, Blake sailed up the river into the bay of Wyeers, but two miles from the place where prince Rupert's ships lay, and thence he sent captain Moulton, to inform the king of the falsities in the prince's declaration. The king, however, still refusing to allow the admiral to attack prince
Rupert

Rupert, Blake took five of the Brazil fleet richly laden, and at the same time sent notice to him, that unless he ordered the prince's ships out from his river, he would seize the rest of the Portuguese fleet from America. In September 1650, the prince endeavoured to get out of the harbour, but was soon driven in again by Blake, who sent to England nine Portuguese ships bound for Brazil; and in October following, he and Popham met with a fleet of twenty three sail from Brazil for Lisbon, of whom they sunk the admiral, took the vice-admiral, and eleven other ships, having ten thousand chests of sugar on board, and burnt three more, the rest were small ships, and during the action, got into the river. In his return home he met with two ships in search of the prince, whom he followed up the Streights. In this crisis, he took a French man of war, the captain of which had committed hostilities. He sent this prize, which was reported to be worth a million, into Cadiz, and followed the prince to the port of Carthagená, where he lay with the remainder of his fleet. As soon as Blake came to an anchor before the fort, he sent a messenger to the Spanish governor informing him, that an enemy to the state of England was in his port, that the parliament commanded him to pursue him, and the king of Spain being in amity with the parliament, he desired leave to take all advantages against their enemy. The governor replied, he could not take notice of the difference of any nations or persons amongst themselves, only such as were declared enemies to the king his master; that they came in thither for safety, therefore he could not refuse them protection, and that he would do the like for the admiral. Blake still pressed the governor to permit him to attack the prince, and the Spaniard put him off till he could have orders from Madrid. While the admiral was cruising
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in the mediterranean, prince Rupert got out of Carthage, and sailed to Malaga. Blake having notice of his destroying many English ships, followed him with all expedition, and attacked him in the port, burnt and destroyed his whole fleet, two ships only excepted, the Reformation, prince Rupert's ship, and the Swallow, commanded by his brother, prince Maurice.

This was in January 1651. In February, Blake took a French man of war of forty guns, and sent it, with four other prizes, to England. Soon after he came with his squadron to Plymouth, when he received the thanks of the parliament, and was made warden of the Cinque-ports. On the fourth of March following, an act passed, whereby col. Blake, col. Popham, and col. Deane, or any two of them, were appointed admirals and generals of the fleet, for the year ensuing.

The next service Blake was put upon was the reducing the isles of Scilly, which were held for the king. He sailed in May, with a body of eight hundred land troops on board. Sir John Greenville, who commanded in those parts for the king, after some small resistance, submitted. Blake sailed next for Guernsey, which was held for the king by Sir George Carteret. He arrived there in the month of October, and landed what forces he had the next day, and did every thing in his power in order to make a speedy conquest of the island, which was not completed that year. In the beginning of the next, however, the governor, finding all hopes of relief vain, thought proper to make the best terms he could. For this service Blake had thanks from the parliament, and was elected one of the council of state.

In 1652, broke out the memorable war between the two commonwealths of England and Holland ;
a war

a war, in which the greatest admirals that perhaps any age has produced, were engaged on each side; in which nothing less was contested than the dominion of the sea, and which was carried on with vigour, animosity, and resolution, proportioned to the importance of the dispute. The chief commanders of the Dutch fleets were, Van Trump, De Ruyter, and De Witt, the most celebrated names of their own nation, and who had been perhaps more renowned had they been opposed by any other enemies. The states of Holland having carried on their trade without opposition, and almost without competition, not only during the inactive reign of king James I. but during the commotions of England, had arrived to that height of naval power, and that affluence of wealth, that with the arrogance which a long-continued prosperity naturally produces, they began to invent new claims, and to treat other nations with insolence, which nothing can defend but superiority of force.

They had for some time made uncommon preparations at a vast expence, and had equipped a large fleet, without any apparent danger threatening them, or any avowed design of attacking their neighbours. This unusual armament was not beheld by the English without some jealousy; and care was taken to fit out such a fleet as might secure the trade from interruption, and the coasts from insults: of this, Blake was constituted admiral for nine months.

In this situation the two nations remained, keeping a watchful eye upon each other, without hostilities on either side, till the 18th of May, 1652, when Van Trump appeared in the Downs, with a fleet of forty-five men of war. Blake, who had then but twenty ships, upon approach of the Dutch admiral, saluted him with three single shot, to require

quire that he should strike his flag: upon which Van Trump, in contempt, fired on the contrary side. Blake fired a second and a third gun, which the Dutch admiral answered with a broadside: the English admiral therefore perceiving his intention to fight, detached himself from the rest of the fleet to treat with Van Trump upon the point of honour, and to prevent the effusion of blood, and a national quarrel. When Blake approached nearer to Van Trump, he and the rest of his fleet, contrary to the law of nations, (the English admiral coming with a design to treat) fired on Blake with whole broadsides. The admiral was in his cabin, drinking with some officers, little expecting to be thus saluted, when the shot broke the windows of the ship, and shattered the stern, which put him into a vehement passion; so that curling his whiskers, as he used to do when he was angry, he commanded his men to answer the Dutch in their kind, saying, when his heat was somewhat over, "he took it very ill of Van Trump, that he should take his ship for a bawdy house and break his windows." Blake for some time stood alone against the whole Dutch fleet, till the rest of his Squadron coming up, the fight was continued from between four and five in the afternoon, till nine at night, when the Dutch retired with the loss of two ships, not having destroyed a single English vessel, nor more than fifteen men, most of which were on board the admiral, who, as he wrote to the parliament, was himself engaged for four hours with the main body of the Dutch fleet, being the mark at which they aimed; and, as Whitlocke relates, received above a thousand shot. Blake, in his letter, acknowledges the particular blessing and preservation of God, and ascribes his success to the justice of his cause, the Dutch having first attacked him upon the English coast.

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After this engagement, the states general seemed inclined to peace, but the commonwealth of England demanded such terms as could not be complied with, and therefore both sides prepared to carry on the war, with great vigour. Blake now harrassed the enemy, by taking their merchant ships, in which he had great success. On the 10th of June, a detachment from his fleet fell upon six and twenty Dutch merchantmen, and took them every one, and by the end of June, he had sent into port, forty prizes. On the second of July, he sailed with a strong squadron northwards. In his course, he took a Dutch man of war, and about the latter end of the month, he fell in with twelve men of war, convoy to their herring buffes, took the whole convoy, a hundred of their buffes, and dispersed the rest.

On the 12th of August, he returned into the Downs, with six of the Dutch men of war, and nine hundred prisoners. Thence he stood over for the coast of Holland, and on the 28th of September having discovered the Dutch about noon, though he only had three of his own squadron with him, vice-admiral Penn with his squadron at some distance and the rest a league or two astern, he bore in among the Dutch fleet, being bravely seconded by Penn and Bourne; three of the enemy's ships were totally disabled at the first onset, and another as she was towing off. The rear admiral was taken by captain Mildmay, and had not night intervened, it was thought not a single ship out of the Dutch fleet would have escaped. On the twenty ninth, about day break, the English spied the Dutch fleet about N. E. two leagues off; the admiral bore up to them, but the enemy having the wind of him, he could not reach them; however he commanded his light frigates to ply as near as they could, and keep firing while the rest bore up after them; upon
which

which the Dutch hoisted their sails and run for it, The English being in want of provisions, returned to the Downs. Blake having been obliged to make large detachments from his fleet, Van Trümp, who had again the command of the Dutch navy, consisting of fourscore men of war, resolved to take this opportunity of attacking him in the Downs, knowing that he had not above half his number of ships. He accordingly sailed away to the back of the Godwin. Blake having intelligence of this, called a council of war, wherein it was resolved to fight, though to so great a disadvantage. The engagement began on the 29th of November, about two in the morning, and lasted till near six in the evening. Blake was on board the Triumph; this ship, the Victory and the Vanguard suffered most, having been engaged, at one time, with twenty of the enemy's best ships. The admiral finding his ship much disabled, and that the Dutch had the advantage of the wind, drew off his fleet in the night into the river Thames, having lost the Garland and Bonaventure, which were taken by the Dutch, a small frigate was also burnt, and three sunk; and his remaining ships much shattered and disabled: Trump, however, bought this victory dear, one of his flag ships was blown up, all the men drowned, and his own ship and De Ruyter's were both unfit for service till they were repaired. This success puffed up the Dutch exceedingly; Van Trump sailed through the channel with a broom at his main top mast, to signify that he had swept the seas of English ships. In the mean time Blake having repaired his fleet, and Monk and Deane being now joined in commission with him, on the 8th of February, 1653, sailed from Queensborough with 60 men of war, which were soon after joined with 20 more from Portsmouth. On the eighteenth of this month they discovered

covered Van Trump with 70 men of war, and three hundred merchant ships under his convoy. Blake with 12 ships, came up with, and engaged the Dutch fleet: He was on board the *Triumph*, which had like to have been lost, having received no less than 700 shot in her hull, if she had not been timely relieved by Lawson in the *Fairfax*. The admiral, though grievously wounded in the thigh, continued the fight till night, when the Dutch, who had six men of war sunk and taken, retired. Blake after having put on shore his wounded men at Portsmouth, followed the enemy, whom he came up with next day, about three in the afternoon, when the fight was renewed greatly to the loss of the Dutch, who continued retreating towards Boulogne. All the night following Blake continued the pursuit, and in the morning of the 20th of February, the two fleets fought again till four in the afternoon, when the wind blowing favourably for the Dutch, they secured themselves on the flats of Dunkirk and Calais. In these three engagements the Dutch lost eleven men of war, 30 merchant ships, and had 1500 men slain. The English lost only one ship, the *Samson*, but not fewer men than the enemy.

In the month of April, Cromwell tyrannically dissolved the parliament, and shortly after assumed the supreme power. The states general expected great advantages from this, but were disappointed; Blake said on this occasion to his officers, "it is not for us to mind state affairs, but to keep foreigners from fooling us." Towards the end of the month, Blake and his colleagues, with a fleet of a hundred sail, stood over for the Dutch coast, and forced their fleet to take shelter in the Texel, where, for some time, they were kept by Monk and Déane, while Blake sailed northward; at last Trump got out, and drew

drew together a fleet of a hundred and twenty men of war.

On the 3d of June, Deane and Monk engaged him off the northforeland. On the 4th, Blake came to their assistance with eighteen fresh ships, by which means a compleat victory was gained, and if the Dutch had not again saved themselves on Calais sands, their whole fleet had been sunk or taken. Cromwell having called the parliament, stiled the little parliament, Blake, on the 10th of October, took his seat in the house, where he received their solemn thanks for his many and faithful services. The protector afterwards called a new parliament, consisting of four hundred members, in which admiral Blake represented his native town of Bridgewater. On the 6th of December, he was appointed one of the commissioners of the admiralty.

In the month of November 1654, Cromwell sent him, with a strong fleet into the mediterranean, with instructions to support the honour of the English flag, and to procure satisfaction for any injuries that might have been done to our merchants. In the beginning of December, Blake came into the road of Cadiz, where he was treated with great respect; insomuch that a Dutch admiral would not hoist his flag while he was there; and one of the victuallers attending his fleet, being separated from the rest, fell in with a French admiral commanding seven men of war, near the mouth of the streights; who ordered the captain of the victualling sloop on board his own ship, which created some suspicion of the admiral's intentions; but they were soon removed, by his kind enquiries after Blake, whose health he drank, with a salute of five guns, and then dismissed the English captain, wishing him a prosperous voyage. As to the Algerines, they stood in so much awe of him, that they used to stop and search

search the Sallee-rovers, and if they found any English prisoners on board, they sent them to Blake, in hopes thereby of obtaining his favour; but this did not prevent him from forcing the dey of Algiers to sue for peace, and to grant satisfaction for the piracies committed on the effects of British subjects; this service he accomplished in the beginning of March 1655; and from Algiers he proceeded with his fleet to Tunis on the same errand. The dey of Tunis sent him a haughty answer. "Here (said he) are our castles of Galetta and Porto Ferino, do your worst, do you think we fear your fleet." On the hearing this, Blake, as usual when angry, began to curl his whiskers, and after a short consultation with his officers, bore into the bay of Porto Ferino, with his great ships, and coming within musket shot of the castle, fired on it so briskly, that in two hours it was rendered defenceless, and the guns on the works along the shore were dismounted, though sixty of them played at a time on the English. He found nine ships in the road, and ordered every captain, even of his own ship, to man his long boat with choice men, and these to enter the harbour, and fire the Tuniseens, while he and his fleet covered them from the castle, by playing continually on it with their cannon. The seamen in their boats boldly assaulted the pirates, and burnt all their ships with the loss of twenty five men killed, and forty eight wounded. This daring action spread the terror of his name through Africa and Asia, which had for a long time before been formidable in Europe. He also struck such terror into the piratical state of Tripoly, that he made them glad to sue for peace with England. These and other exploits raised the glory of the English name so high, that most of the princes and states in Italy, thought fit to pay their compliments to the protector, particularly the grand Duke

Duke of Tuscany, and the republic of Venice, who sent magnificent embassies for that purpose. War in the mean time having been declared against Spain, Blake used his utmost efforts to ruin their maritime force in Europe, as Penn had done in the West Indies. But finding himself now in a declining state of health, and fearing the ill consequences which might ensue, in case he should die without any colleague to take charge of the fleet, he wrote letters to England, desiring some proper person to be named in commission with him, upon which general Montague was sent joint admiral with a strong squadron to assist him. Soon after his arrival in the Mediterranean, the two admirals sailed with their whole fleet, to block up a Spanish squadron in the bay of Cadiz. At length, in September, being in great want of water, Blake and Montague stood away for the coast of Portugal, leaving captain Stayner, with seven ships, to look after the enemy. Soon after they were gone, the Spanish plate fleet appeared, but were intercepted by Stayner, who took the vice admiral, and another galleon, which were afterwards burnt by accident, the rear admiral with two million of plate on board, and another ship richly laden. These prizes, together with all the prisoners, were sent to England, under general Montague, and Blake alone remained in the Mediterranean, till being informed that another plate fleet had put into Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriff, in the month of April 1657, he sailed thither with a fleet of twenty five men of war. On the twentieth, he came into the road of Santa Cruz, where they discovered how bravely the Spanish ships, sixteen in number, were barricaded in this bay, where they lay in a manner semicircular. Near in the mouth of this haven stands a castle, sufficiently furnished with great ordnance, which threatened destruction

to any one that durst enter without its leave into the harbour; besides this, there stood seven forts more round about the bay, with six, four, and three guns a-piece, and united together by a line of communication from one fort to another, which was manned with musqueteers. To make all safe, Don Diego Diagues, general of the Spanish fleet, was not idle, in making provision for the best defence of his armado; he caused all the smaller ships to be moored close along the shore, and the six great galleons stood further out at anchor, with their broadsides towards the sea. It happened at this time, there was a Dutch merchant ship in the bay, the master thereof seeing the English ready to enter, and that a combat would presently be commenced, it made him fear, that among all the blows that would be given, he could not avoid some mischief; therefore to save himself, he went to Don Diego, and desired his leave to depart the harbour; for, said he, I am very sure Blake will presently be among you. The resolute Don made no other reply but, get you gone if you will, and let Blake come if he dares. They that knew Blake's courage could not but know it needless to dare him to an engagement. All things being ordered for the fight, a squadron of ships was drawn out of the whole fleet to make the first onset; these were commanded by captain Stayner in the Speaker frigate, who no sooner had received orders, but immediately he flew into the bay with his canvas wings, and by eight in the morning fell pell mell upon the Spanish fleet, without the least regard to the forts, that spent their shot prodigally upon him. No sooner were these entered into the bay, but Blake following after, placed certain ships to pour broadsides into the castle and forts. These played their parts so well, that after some time, the Spaniards found their

forts too hot to be held. In the mean time, Blake strikes in with Stayner, and bravely fought the Spanish ships, which were not much inferior in number to the English, but in men, were far superior. Here we see a resolute bravery many times may carry the day, and make numbers lie by; this was manifest, for by two of the clock in the afternoon, the English had beaten the enemies out of their ships. Now Blake seeing an impossibility of carrying them away, he ordered his men to fire their prizes; which was done so effectually, that all the Spanish fleet were reduced to ashes, except two ships that sunk downright, nothing remaining of them above water, but some part of their masts. The English having now got a compleat victory, were put to another difficulty by the wind, which blew so strong into the bay, that many despaired of getting out of it again. But God's providence was miraculously seen in causing the wind on a sudden to veer about to the south west, (a thing not known in many years before) which brought Blake and his fleet safe to sea again, notwithstanding the Spaniards from the castle played their great guns perpetually upon him as they passed by. The wind, as it proved a friend to bring the English forth, so it continued to carry them back to their former station near Cadiz. Blake returned after this glorious action, to the coasts of Spain, where he cruized for some time off the harbour of Cadiz; but perceiving that his ships were become foul, and being seized with a dangerous disorder, he resolved to sail for England. His distemper was a complication of dropsy and scurvy, brought upon him by being three years together at sea, and wanting all that time, the conveniencies requisite for the cure of his disease. In his passage home, it increased upon him, and he became so sensible of his approaching end, that he frequently enquired

enquired for land, a mark of his affection for his native soil, which however, he did not live to see; dying, as his ship, the *St. George*, entered Plymouth-sound, on the 17th of August, 1657, at about 59 years of age. His body was the next day embalmed and wrapped in lead, his bowels taken out, and buried in the great church at Plymouth, and his corpse, by order of the Protector, conveyed by water to Greenwich-house; from whence he resolved to have it carried in great pomp to Westminster-abbey, and there interred with the utmost solemnity, as the last mark of respect that could be payed to this heroic commander.

On the 4th of September, after the corpse had lain several days in state, it was carried from Greenwich in a magnificent barge, covered with velvet, adorned with escutcheons and pendants, accompanied by his brothers, remoter relations, and their servants, in mourning; by Oliver's privy council, the commissioners of the admiralty and navy, and the lord mayor and aldermen of London; the field officers of the army, and many other persons of honour and quality, in a great number of barges and wherries, covered with mourning, marshalled and ordered by the heralds at arms, who directed and attended the solemnity. Thus they passed to Westminster bridge, and, at their landing, proceeded in the same manner, through a guard of several regiments of foot, to the abbey. His dear friend general Lambert, though then in disgrace with the protector, attended on horseback. The funeral procession being over, the body was interred in a vault built on purpose in the chapel of Henry VII.

Such were the honours paid to the remains of Blake, in the days of Cromwell; but after the restoration of king Charles II. his body, in virtue of his Majesty's express command, was taken up

and buried in a pit, with others, in St. Margaret's church yard, on the 12th of September, 1661. "In which place," says Wood, "it now remaineth, enjoying no other monument but what is reared by his valour, which time itself can hardly efface."

The earl of Clarendon says, "Blake was the first man that declined the old tract, and made it manifest that the science might be attained in less time than was imagined; and despised those rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ship and men out of danger, which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumspection; as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship, had been to be sure to come home safe again." He was the first man who brought ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could be rarely hurt by them. He was the first that infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience, what mighty things they could do, if they were resolved, and taught them to fight in fire, as well as upon water; and though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and resolute achievements.

* * * *Authorities.* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. Lediard's Naval History.

The LIFE of
 GENERAL MONK,
 DUKE of ALBERMARLE.

[A. D. 1608, to 1667.]

GEORGE MONK, memorable for being the chief instrument of the restoration of Charles II. to his crown and kingdoms, was descended from an antient family, settled so early as the reign of Henry III. at Potheridge, in Devonshire, at which place he was born in the year 1608. He was likewise educated there, by his grandfather and godfather Sir George Smith, with whom he chiefly resided.

He was a younger son, and no provision being expected for him from his father Sir Thomas Monk, whose fortune had been reduced, he dedicated himself to arms from his youth, and before he was quite seventeen years of age, entered himself as a volunteer under his kinsman Sir Richard Greenville, then lying at Plymouth, and just upon setting out under lord Wimbedon, on the ill concerted, and worse executed expedition against Spain, in the year 1625.

The ill success which attended our young volunteer's first essay, neither damped his courage nor changed his martial inclination; for the very next

year he obtained a pair of colours under Sir John Burroughs, in the expedition to the isle of Rhee. From hence he returned at the end of the war in 1628; and the following year, being just then of age, he served as an ensign in the Low-Countries, first under lord Oxford, and then under lord Goring, by whom he was promoted to the rank of captain of his own company. In this station he was concerned in several sieges and battles; and, having, in ten years service, by a steady and close application to the duties of his profession, made himself an absolute master of the military art, and become extremely useful to the service, he retired on a disgust given him by the prince of Orange, and returned to his native country just on the breaking out of the first war between king Charles I. and his Scottish subjects.

The captain's reputation, backed by the powerful recommendations of the earl of Leicester and lady Carlisle, procured him the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the regiment belonging to lord Newport; in which post he served in the king's northern expeditions.

The treaty commenced at Rippon, and the summoning a parliament had scarce put an end to the Scotch war, when the horrid Irish rebellion broke out; and the earl of Leicester, then lord lieutenant of Ireland, having raised him to the rank of colonel, he went over to that kingdom, where he was so instrumental in quelling the rebellion, that the lords-justices appointed him governor of Dublin; but the parliament interceding, that authority was vested in another; and soon after, the colonel returned to England with his regiment, along with the rest of the forces sent home by the marquis of Ormond, on his signing a truce with the Irish rebels, in 1643: but, on the colonel's arrival at Bristol, he

he was stopped by orders sent both from Ireland and from the court at Oxford, directing lord Hawley, governor of Bristol, to secure him till further orders : on a suspicion of his having a design to join the parliament forces, under the earl of Leicester his General. But Hawley convinced of his innocence, suffered him to proceed to Oxford on his parole ; where he so fully justified himself to lord Digby, the then secretary of state, that he was by that nobleman introduced to his majesty ; but his regiment was given to colonel Warren, who had been his major.

In order to indemnify him for this removal, the king raised him to the rank of major-general in the Irish brigade, then commanded by lord Byron, and employed in the siege of Nantwich, in Cheshire ; to which station major-general Monk speedily repaired, but arrived only time enough to share in the unfortunate surprisal of the whole brigade by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who brought a considerable body of the parliaments forces to the relief of that place ; from which place, Monk was sent to Hull, amongst the other prisoners, and was in a short time after conveyed to the Tower of London, where he remained in close confinement till November, 1646 ; when, at the solicitation of his kinsman, lord Lisle, eldest son to the earl of Leicester, who, on the marquis of Ormond's declaring for the king, was made deputy of that kingdom, he took the covenant, engaged with the parliament, and agreed to accept a command under him in the Irish service, as the only means to be enlarged from his tedious confinement.

Lord Lisle and the colonel embarked for Ireland, the beginning of the year 1647 ; but, the marquis of Ormond refusing obedience to the orders of the parliament, would not deliver up the city of Dublin to their deputy without the king's command,

therefore lord Lisle and his forces were obliged to steer for Cork, near which they landed; but not being able to perform any signal service, and his lordship's commission expiring in April, they returned to England; and soon after Monk had the command in chief of all the parliament's forces in the north of Ireland conferred upon him, together with the regiment late colonel Brocket's; whereupon he returned for the third time to Ireland, and landed at Belfast.

The Scots under the command of major-general Monroe, refusing to join the English in the service of the parliament, colonel Monk was prevented from entering into action so soon as he chose; but being joined by colonel Jones, he made large amends, and disputed the possession of Ulster very warmly with Owen Roe O'Neal, obliging him to raise the siege of Londonderry; and by securing the command of forage, and laying waste the country, almost famished his army. He likewise managed so well the tilling and improving those parts in his possession, and was so provident in disposing the booties from time to time brought in by his parties, that he made the Irish war nearly maintain itself. Yet, notwithstanding these small successes, the superiority of the marquis of Ormond and lord Inchequin, at the head of the royalists; and the unconquerable distrust of the Scots, to whom most of his garrison of Dundalk revolted on their approach to that place, reduced him to the necessity of entering into a treaty with that bold Irish leader; who deceiving him, he was obliged to surrender Dundalk to lord Inchequin, and return to England; where he was called to an account by the parliament for having treated with the Irish rebels: an affront he never forgave.

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He was, perhaps, the more offended with this treatment, as he was not employed in the reduction of Ireland under Oliver Cromwell, who, all accounts agree, received considerable advantage from this very treaty made between O'Neal and the colonel.

During this inactivity, his elder brother dying without issue male, the family estate, by entail, devolved upon him, and he recovered it from the ruinous condition in which his father and brother had left it.

He had scarce settled his private affairs when he was called upon to serve against the Scots; under Oliver Cromwell, by whom he was made lieutenant general of the artillery, and had a regiment given him, composed of six companies taken out of Fenwick's, and six out of Haslerig's. In this post he was extremely serviceable to Cromwell, particularly at the famous battle of Dunbar.

After this victory, the lieutenant general was employed in dispersing a body of irregulars, known by the name of Moss-troopers; and in reducing Darlington, Roswell, Brothwick, and Tantallon castles, where they used to harbour; he was also concerned in settling the articles for the surrender of Edinburgh castle; and, being left commander in chief in Scotland, at the head of six thousand men, by Cromwell, when he returned to England, in pursuit of Charles II. he besieged and took Sterling, and carried Dundee by storm; where he behaved with great cruelty, putting Lunsdale, the governor, and eight hundred men to the sword.

Soon after this, St. Andrew's and Aberdeen also submitted to him, but being seized with a violent fit of illness, he was obliged in 1652, to go to Bath for his recovery. Upon his recovery, he set out again for Scotland, as one of the commissioners for uniting that kingdom with the new-erected English com-

monwealth; which having brought to a successful conclusion, he returned to London.

The Dutch war having now been carried on for some months, lieutenant general Monk, on the death of colonel Popham, was joined with the admirals Blake and Dean in the command at sea; and by his courage and conduct, he contributed greatly to the defeat given to the Dutch fleet on the 2d of June 1653, and likewise to the victory obtained on the 31st of July following.

Oliver Cromwell being declared protector the same year, concluded a peace with the Dutch, who obtaining more favourable terms from him than the council of state and the parliament had appeared willing to grant; General Monk, who lay with his fleet on the Dutch coast, remonstrated so warmly against this peace, and those remonstrances were so well received by the Little, or Barebones' parliament; and Monk, on his return, was treated so kindly by them, that Oliver grew jealous of him, and closeted him, to find whether he was inclined to any other interest; but, on receiving satisfaction from the general on this head, he not only took him into favour, but, on the breaking out of fresh troubles in the north of Scotland, where the marquis of Athol, the earl of Glencairne, major-general Middleton, and several more of the nobility and others, had raised forces on the behalf of king Charles II. he sent him thither commander in chief, in April, 1654.

Arriving at Leith, he sent colonel Morgan with a large detachment against the Royalists; and, having assisted in proclaiming the protector at Edinburgh, he followed himself with the rest of the forces. Through the general's prudent management, this war was finished by August, when he returned from the Highland, and fixed his abode at Dalkeith, a seat belonging to the countess of Buccleugh,

Buccleugh, within four or five miles of Edinburgh; where he constantly resided during the time, which was five years, that he staid in Scotland; amusing himself with the pleasures of a rural life, and beloved by the people, though his government was more absolute than any they had before experienced. He exercised this authority not only as commander in chief, but as one of the protector's council of state for Scotland, and the other members paid such implicit obedience to his orders, on account of his great popularity, that Cromwell often entertained suspicions of him.

Nor was this distrust entirely groundless. For it is certain that the king entertained good hopes of him, and to that purpose wrote to him the following letter, dated from Colen, August 12th, 1655.

“ One who believes he knows your nature and inclinations very well, assures me, that, notwithstanding all ill accidents and misfortunes, you retain still your old affection to me, and resolve to express it upon the first seasonable opportunity, which is as much as I look for from you. We must all patiently wait for that opportunity, which may be offered sooner than we expect: when it is, let it find you ready; and in the mean time have a care to keep yourself out of their hands, who know the hurt you can do them in a good conjuncture, and can never but suspect your affection to be, as I am confident it is, towards

Yours, &c.

CHARLES REX.”

However, the general made no scruple of discovering every step taken by the cavaliers which came to his knowledge, even to the sending the protector this letter, and joined in promoting addresses to him from the army in Scotland. In 1657 he received a summons to Oliver's house of lords. About this
time

time George, his second son died in his infancy, which was a great affliction to him, being doatingly fond of him. From this period to the death of Oliver, the General maintained Scotland in subjection, and lived free from all disturbance, not intermeddling further with the mad politicks of those times, than to put what orders he received from England punctually into execution; in pursuance of which plan he proclaimed Richard Cromwell protector, after his father's death, Richard having dispatched Dr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Clarges agent to the Scotch and Irish forces, whose sister the general had some time before owned for his wife, with letters to him; to which he returned a suitable and respectful answer, aiming only at securing his own command; at the same time joining with the rest of the officers of the army under his command, in an address to the new protector, whose power he might easily foresee would have but a short date, it having been his opinion that Oliver, had he lived much longer, would scarce have been able to preserve himself in his station. And indeed Cromwell began to be apprehensive of that great alteration which happened in the government, and fearful that the General was deeply engaged in those measures which procured it; if we may judge from a letter wrote by him to General Monk but a little before his death, to which was added, the following remarkable postscript:

“ There be that tell me, that there is a certain cunning fellow in Scotland, called George Monk, who is said to lie in wait there to introduce Charles Stuart. I pray you to use your diligence to apprehend him and send him to me.”

However, as Clarges had informed him, by Richard's order, that his late father had expressly charged him to do nothing without his advice, the
General

General recommended to him to encourage a learned, pious, moderate ministry in the church; to permit no councils of officers, a liberty they had too often abused; to call a parliament, and to endeavour to be master of the army.

Richard Cromwell was acknowledged by all orders of men in the three kingdoms; he received above ninety addresses from the counties and considerable corporations of England; and the foreign ministers vied with each other in compliments, congratulating him upon his succession: but this conduct was only deceitful policy to give time for the different parties in the kingdom to form their own plans. Richard Cromwell was a man of a different complexion from his father, and would rather have lost ten kingdoms, than have maintained one, by the sword. The army long accustomed to a share in the government, dreaded a diminution of their power under such a governor; the republicans thought it a proper crisis to shake off the yoke of the protectorship, which they had found to be as oppressive as the royal authority. And a third party equally detesting the protectorship, the army, and the republican form of government, wished for the restoration of Charles II. With these jarring interests at work in secret, it is no wonder that Richard's first national assembly consisting of a lower and upper house, fell out on the subjects of superiority and privilege, or that they attempted to lessen the power of the army; by which they brought on their own dissolution. The council of officers assumed the supreme authority in May 1659, after they had forced Richard to dissolve the parliament: they restored the remnants of the long parliament; declared their intention of governing without a single person, kingship or house of peers; and then appointed a committee of safety, who ordered all writs and patents

patents to run, as at the first establishment of the commonwealth, in the names of the keepers of the liberties of the three nations. Richard, who saw his uncle Desborough and his brother Fleetwood, engaged in this plan of government, quietly resigned his authority to the Rump parliament, gave in a list of his debts, and desired to live privately, in dutiful obedience to the commonwealth. After the restoration, he went abroad, but returned when the spirit of party resentment subsided, and lived in England obscurely to a great old age, not dying till towards the latter end of queen Anne's reign.

The General receiving advice of these transactions, and of the deposition of Richard, readily abandoned him he had so lately proclaimed; and his brother in law being again sent to him from the Rump parliament, on their restoration, he acquiesced in all they had done, as the surest way to preserve his own command, only recommending Richard to their favour; and, with his officers, he signed the engagement against Charles Stuart, or any other single person being admitted to the government. But, when their committee, consisting of ten persons, began, on the informations of Peirson and Mason, two republican colonels in his army, to make considerable alterations therein, by cashiering of those officers in whom he most confided; of which his brother in law, Clarges, gave him information; he wrote a letter to the house, complaining of this treatment in so warm a stile, at the same time engaging for the fidelity of his officers, that they ordered their committee not to proceed further therein, till the General himself was consulted.

The royalists were far from being idle in this juncture; there had been a kind of secret committee of that party, for managing affairs in behalf of the crown,

crown, ever since the death of Charles I. among whom was the son of Sir John Greenville, our general's kinsman, who had lately given a very good living in Cornwall to Mr. Nicholas Monk, his brother; and Sir John receiving at this time two letters from king Charles II. then at Brussels, one directed to himself, and the other to the General, together with a private commission to treat with the latter, the success of this overture was the restoration of the king.

On the eighth of May, the General assisted at the proclamation of king Charles II. and, having received advice by Sir Thomas Clarges, that his majesty intended to land at Dover, on the twenty-eighth, the General set out for that place, being the same day the king embarked for Holland; and, lying at Rochester that night, arrived the next day at Dover, where the king landed on the twenty-fifth.

The interview between the king and the General, was conformable to every one's expectation, full of duty on one side, and favour and esteem on the other; the king permitting the General to ride in his coach two miles out of the town; when his majesty took horse, and, with General Monk on his left hand, and his two brothers on his right, proceeded to Canterbury, where he conferred the order of the garter on General Monk, the dukes of York and Gloucester investing him with the honourable badges of that dignity.

From Canterbury, the king removed to Rochester, where he lay on Monday the twenty-eighth; and the next morning, being his birth-day, set out for Black-Heath to review the army which the General had caused to be drawn up there; and from thence proceeded to London, into which he made his public entry with much magnificence, on the 29th of May, 1660.

General

General Monk was now sworn one of the privy-council, made master of the horse, and one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, had apartments in the Cock-pit, and was in a little time made first lord-commissioner of the Treasury; and, in about a month afterwards, was created a peer, by the titles of baron Monk of Potheridge, Beauchamp, and Tees, earl of Torrington, and duke of Albermarle, with a grant of seven thousand pounds a year, estate of inheritance, besides other pensions; and he received a very peculiar acknowledgment of regard on being thus called to the peerage, almost the whole house of commons attending him to the very door of the house of lords: and we are told, that Sir Edward Nicholas said, that the industry and service, which the duke of Albermarle had paid to the crown since the king's restoration, without reflecting upon his service before, deserved all the favour and bounty which his majesty had been pleased to confer upon him.

In October, the duke was made one of the commissioners for trying the Regicides, and acted accordingly under it, but observed great moderation. Soon after, his grace was made lord-lieutenant of the counties of Devonshire and Middlesex; and the parliament voting the disbanding of the army, the duke joined very heartily with lord chancellor Hyde in promoting that step; and took great pains, by changing of officers, to bring it to be submitted to quietly; in which he succeeded; all but his own regiment of foot, and a new raised regiment of horse for the king's guard, being paid off and dismissed.

In January 1661, while the king was accompanying his mother and sister on their return to France, the duke was employed at London in quelling an insurrection made by some Fifth-monarchy
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men, under one Venner, a wine-cooper ; who were with some difficulty reduced by the duke of Albermarle's regiment, after repulsing some detachments of the city militia, and the new-raised horse. This gave rise to a proposal for keeping up standing forces ; but the duke was against it, saying, That his endeavouring to continue any part of the army would be liable to so much misinterpretation, that he would by no means appear in it.

At the coronation in April, 1661, the duke carried the sceptre and dove, and was one of the supporters of the canopy of state, after which he and the duke of Buckingham did homage for themselves and the rest of their degree.

In the latter part of this year he was attacked with a dangerous illness, from which he was recovered by the king's physician, Sir Robert Frazer. After this, every thing being in full peace, he enjoyed himself for some time in retirement, till, on the breaking out of the first Dutch war, under Charles II. in 1664, he was, by his royal highness the duke of York, who commanded the fleet, intrusted with the care of the Admiralty, receiving at the same time a very obliging letter from his royal highness.

The plague broke out in London the same year ; and the king removing from thence to Oxford, the duke of Albermarle's vigilance and activity made his majesty regard him as the fittest nobleman to entrust with the care of his capital city in that time of imminent danger and distress ; which additional burthen he chearfully underwent, and was greatly assisted therein by the archbishop of Canterbury and the earl of Craven. About Michaelmas, the king sent for him to Oxford, whither he went post, and, on his arrival, found his majesty had appointed prince Rupert and himself, joint

joint admirals for the ensuing year; which dangerous post, though many of his friends dissuaded him from, he readily accepted, and immediately set himself diligently about his new employment; wherein all the care of finishing new ships which were on the stocks, repairing the old ones, which had been much damaged in an action with the Dutch that summer; the victualling and manning the whole fleet, fell chiefly to his lot; and was so effectually and expeditiously pursued by him, the seamen offering in crowds for the service, because they said they were sure that honest George, as they commonly called him, would see them well fed and justly paid: on the twenty-third of April, 1666, the prince and he took their leaves of the king, and repaired on board the fleet; where the former hoisted his flag, having Sir George Ascough under him, as admiral of the white, on board the Royal James; and the latter, as admiral of the red, on board the Royal Charles.

On the 25th and 26th of July, they engaged the Dutch fleet, and gained a complete victory, destroying above twenty of their men of war; and driving the rest into their harbours. The Dutch lost four admirals in this engagement, and 4000 inferior officers and seamen. The English fleet returned to St. Helens the latter end of August, and lay there for further orders.

During that interval, broke out the terrible fire in London; which beginning on the second of September, 1666, burned with unparalleled fury for three days, and laid the greatest part of the city in ashes. This unexpected accident immediately occasioned the duke of Albermarle to be recalled from the fleet, to assist in quieting the minds of the people, who expressed their affection and esteem for him, by crying out publicly, as he passed

passed through the ruined streets, That, if his grace had been there, the city had not been burnt.

The earl of Southampton dying on the sixteenth of May, 1667, his majesty, after the peace, put the Treasury in commission, at the head of which was again placed, his Grace the duke of Albermarle. This was the last testimony of the royal favour he received; for being now in the sixtieth year of his age, the many hardships and fatigues he had undergone in a military life, began to shake his constitution, hitherto remarkable healthy, he being about this time attacked with a dropsy, the first symptoms of which were too much neglected.

In this declining condition he withdrew from public business, as much as his post and the state of affairs would permit, and retired to his seat at Newhall in the county of Essex; where he was prevailed upon, by the importunity of his friends, to try a pill then in vogue, being a preparation of one Dr. Sermon, of Bristol, who had formerly served under his grace as a common soldier; from which he at first received such considerable relief, that, towards the latter end of the year, he returned to town: but soon after falling into a relapse, with the addition of an asthmatic complaint, he set about finishing his last great temporal concern, the marriage of his only son with the lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter to Henry, earl of Ogle, only son to Charles, the then duke of Newcastle; which being settled, the nuptial ceremony was performed in his own chamber, on the thirtieth of December 1669; and on the third of January, four days after, he died, sitting in his chair, with scarce a groan.

* * *Authorities.* Hume's Hist. of England.
Gen. Biog. Dictionary.

The

The LIFE of
EDWARD MONTAGUE,
EARL of SANDWICH.

[A. D. 1625, to 1672.]

THIS gallant naval officer was the only surviving son of Sir Sidney Montague, the youngest of six sons of Edward Lord Montague of Boughton. He was born on the 27th of July, 1625, and having received all the advantages which a liberal education could bestow, he came very early into the world, and into public business. He married when he was little more than seventeen years of age, the daughter of Mr. Crewe, afterwards lord Crewe of Stene; and being thought more warmly affected to the cause of the parliament, than his father, Sir Sidney Montague, he received a colonel's commission, in 1643, to raise, and command a regiment in the service of the parliament. This, colonel Montague, though only eighteen years of age, performed, and the interest of his family being very extensive, he took the field in six weeks. He was present at the storming at Lincoln, on the 6th of May, 1644, which was one of the warmest actions during the course of the civil war. He was likewise in the battle of Marston-moor, which was fought on the 2d of July, the same year, where he greatly distinguished himself; insomuch that
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he soon after, when the city of York offered to capitulate, was appointed one of the commissioners for settling the articles, though he was then only in his nineteenth year.

The following year he was present at the battle of Naseby; and in the month of July, 1645, he stormed the town of Bridgwater. In September, he commanded a brigade in the storm of Bristol, where he performed very remarkable service; and on the 10th of September, 1645, subscribed the articles of capitulation, granted to prince Rupert, on the delivery of that important place to the parliament. He sat in the house of commons, as knight of the shire for Huntingdon, before he was of age; and he had afterwards a seat at the board of Treasury, under Cromwell. After the Dutch war was over, he was promoted to the rank of an admiral in the Navy, and was made choice of by the protector, to be joined with admiral Blake in his expedition to the Mediterranean.

Admiral Montague found a variety of difficulties to struggle with, at the very entrance upon this service; many of the officers being displeased with the service in which they were to be engaged, and not a few insisted on laying down their commissions. He managed this intricate business with great prudence and dexterity, so as to shew a due regard to discipline, without running into any acts of severity: and this had a very happy effect, since, by the time he came to sail, the fleet was pretty well settled, and the officers disposed to act in obedience to orders. In the spring of the year 1656, we find him in the Mediterranean, where himself, and his colleague, Blake, meditated great things. They once thought of attacking the Spanish fleet in the harbour of Cadiz; but after attentively considering the port, it was resolved in a council of war, that
such

such an attempt was impracticable. The fleet then stood over to the opposite shore of Barbary, in order to repress the insolence of the Tripoli and Sallee-rovers, which was found no very easy task; and therefore, admiral Montague could not forbear intimating his desire, that we should have some good port in Africa, which he believed might answer various ends, and especially conduce to the preservation of our trade in the Levant. The fleet afterwards returned into the road of Cadiz, where they made prize of two Spanish galleons. A full account of their strength, and the money on board them, admiral Montague sent to England, as soon as they were taken; and when he afterwards had received directions to convoy the prizes home, he sent another account of the silver on board them, which was to a great amount. When admiral Montague returned to England, he was much caressed by the protector; and the parliament returned him thanks by their speaker, for the services he had done to the state.

In 1657, he was appointed to command a fleet in the Downs. The design of this fleet was to watch the Dutch, to carry on the war with Spain, and to facilitate the enterprize of taking Dunkirk; and in all these he did as much as could be expected from him. Towards autumn, he thought fit to make a journey to the camp of Marshal Turenne, with whom he had a conference, as to the properest method of carrying on the war. All this time he seems to have been in the highest favour with the protector, and to have had the greatest intimacy with his family; and yet the admiral had thoughts of retiring from public business; but for what reasons cannot now be determined. However, after the death of Oliver Cromwell, in the protectorship of his son Richard, admiral Montague accepted the command of a large fleet, which was sent to the north:

north : on board which he embarked in the spring of the year 1659, and on the 7th of April, he wrote to the king of Sweden, the king of Denmark, and the Dutch admiral, Opdam ; to inform them of the motives that had induced the protector to send so great a fleet into the Baltick ; and that his instructions were not to respect the private advantage of England, by making war, but the public tranquillity of Europe, by engaging the powers of the north to enter into an equitable peace.

Before the admiral sailed, the parliament thought proper to tie him down by very strict instructions, which obliged him to act only in conjunction with their commissioners, colonel Algernon Sidney, Sir Robert Honeywood, and Mr. Thomas Boon. And it is supposed that his disgust at this, and at their giving away his regiment of horse, occasioned him to leave England in no very warm disposition for their service. However, when he arrived in the Sound, he took his share with other ministers in the negotiation, and made it sufficiently evident, that his genius was equally capable of shining in the cabinet, or commanding at sea, or on shore. But whilst he was thus employed, king Charles sent a person with two letters, one from himself, and another from chancellor Hyde, containing arguments and promises calculated to induce admiral Montague to withdraw himself from the service of the parliament. What the king now desired of him was, a speedy return to England, that the fleet might be ready to act in conjunction with Sir George Booth, and other persons, who were already disposed to bring about a restoration. These letters had so much effect upon Montague, that he entered heartily into the scheme, and immediately set about putting it in execution.

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The defection of the admiral from the interest of the parliament, could not escape the penetration of Algernon Sydney. He soon discerned some change in the conduct of Montague, and pursued his discoveries so closely, that he narrowly missed coming at his whole secret. The admiral observing his suspicions, called a council of war, wherein he made a speech, by which he prevailed on the rest of the officers to concur with him in his design of returning home. After which he weighed immediately, and sailed for England. But on his arrival, Montague found things in a very unexpected situation: Sir George Booth in the tower, the parliament in full possession of their authority, and a warm charge against himself come to hand, from colonel Sydney. However, he set out for London, and attended the parliament; and gave so plausible an account of his conduct, that though they were dissatisfied with him, yet not having sufficient evidence against him, they contented themselves with dismissing him from his command.

After this escape, Mr. Montague retired on his own estate. But when other and more effectual measures were again adopted for restoring king Charles, he was replaced in his former post in the Navy, by the influence of General Monk. He then sent the king a list of such officers in the fleet as might be confided in, and of such as he apprehended must be reduced by force: and he exerted himself to the utmost in bringing about the restoration. He had the honour of convoying king Charles to England; and that prince, two days after his landing at Dover, made him a knight of the garter. Our admiral's services were also rewarded soon after, by the king's creating him baron Montague of St. Neots in the county of Huntingdon, viscount Hinchinbroke in the same county, and earl of Sandwich in Kent.

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He was likewise sworn a member of the privy council, made master of the king's wardrobe, admiral of the narrow seas, and lieutenant-admiral to the duke of York, as lord high admiral of England. At the king's coronation, his lordship carried St. Edward's staff, and was now looked upon as one of the principal ministers of state, as well as the person chiefly intrusted with the care of the fleet. And he constantly attended the council, when any transactions relating to foreign affairs were under debate.

In September, 1660, the earl of Sandwich went with a squadron of nine men of war to Helvoetsluys, to bring over the king's sister, the princess of Orange; and upon this occasion he received great honours in Holland. On the 24th of the same month, the fleet returned, and his majesty and the duke of York going on board the admiral's ship, named *THE RESOLUTION*, lay there that night, and reviewed and examined the squadron next morning.

A treaty of marriage having been concluded between king Charles II. and the infanta of Portugal, with whom he was to receive a portion of 300000*l.* the island of Bombay in the East Indies, and the city of Tangier in Africa; it became necessary to send a fleet to bring over the queen, and to secure the last mentioned city against any attempt from the moors. For this purpose, the earl of Sandwich was again sent with a numerous fleet, which sailed on the 19th of June 1661, from the Downs, after having been first visited by the duke of York. His lordship afterwards sailed directly for Tangier, which place was put into the hands of the English on the 30th of January 1662, when the earl of Peterborough marched into it with an English garrison, and had the keys delivered to him by the Portuguese governor. The admiral then returned to Lisbon, where he received

the queen's portion, consisting in money, bills of exchange, &c. and then sailed with her majesty for England, and arrived at Spithead on the 14th of May, 1662.

When the Dutch war began in 1664, the duke of York took upon him the command of the fleet as high admiral, and the earl of Sandwich commanded the blue squadron; and by his industry and care a great number of the enemy's ships were taken, and the best part of their Bourdeaux fleet. In the great battle, fought on the 3d of June 1665, wherein the Dutch lost their admiral, Opdam, and had eighteen men of war taken, and fourteen destroyed, a large share of the honour of the victory was justly given to the courage and conduct of the earl of Sandwich; who about noon, fell, with the blue squadron, into the center of the enemy's fleet; and thereby began that confusion, which ended, soon after, in a total defeat of the enemy.

Soon after this, the fleet, after having returned home to refit, was put under the command of the earl of Sandwich, as the duke of York had now repaired to court. And on the 4th of September, 1665, the earl took eight Dutch men of war, and two of their best East India ships, and twenty sail of their merchantmen. Also on the 9th of September, a part of the fleet fell in with eighteen of the Hollanders, the greatest part of which they took, with four men of war, and above 1000 prisoners.

On his return to England, the earl was received with distinguishing marks of royal favour; and our affairs in Spain requiring an extraordinary embassy, the king dispatched his lordship to the court of Madrid, to mediate a peace between the crowns of Spain and Portugal. The earl of Sandwich managed this negociation with great ability, and not only concluded a peace between those two nations,

to their mutual satisfaction, but also concluded with the court of Spain, says Dr. Campbell, the most beneficial treaty of commerce that ever was made for this nation.

On the breaking out of the second Dutch war, his lordship went to sea with the duke of York, and commanded the blue squadron. The fleet was at sea the beginning of May, and on the 28th of that month came in sight of the Dutch fleet about break of day; an engagement began between the two fleets about eight o'clock in the morning. And on this occasion the earl, in the Royal James, a ship of an hundred guns, gave the most signal proofs of his valour. He was first attacked by a large Dutch ship, named the Great Holland, commanded by captain Brackell, followed by a fire ship; which was soon seconded by the Dutch rear admiral, Van Ghent, with his whole squadron. Brackell, though of much less force, depending on the assistance of his friends, who had the advantage of the wind, grappled the Royal James; and, while the earl was engaged with him, he was attacked by Van Ghent, with several other men of war and fire ships, against all which he defended himself with great vigour. The Dutch rear admiral, Van Ghent, was soon taken off by a cannot shot; three of their fire ships, and a man of war, which would have laid the earl on board, on the other side, were sunk; and, at length, he was disengaged from Brackell's ship, with which he had been grappled an hour and an half, and had reduced her to the state of a wreck, wounded her commander, killed and wounded almost all his officers, and above two thirds of his men. He had now defended himself and repulsed the enemy with the utmost bravery, for five hours together, and it was believed might have made an honourable retreat. But he would not be per-

suaded to desist from the unequal combat, though not seconded, as he ought to have been, by his squadron. At length, another Dutch fire ship covered by the smoke of the enemy, grappled the Royal James, and set her in a flame. And the brave earl perished in her, with several other gallant officers.

Such was the end, on the 28th of May, 1672, of Edward, earl of Sandwich. He was a nobleman of great abilities, of extraordinary courage, of uncommon skill in all naval affairs, and possessed of many personal accomplishments. Bishop Parker says, he was "a gentleman adorned with all the virtues of Alcibiades, and untainted by any of his vices; of high birth; capable of any business; full of wisdom; a great commander at sea and land; and also learned and eloquent, affable, liberal and magnificent." The earl was always against regarding any qualification but merit, in the preferments of the navy, declaring upon all occasions against shewing favour to the relations of peers, or other persons of distinction, to the prejudice of such as had served longer, or better: and this rendered him the idol of the fleet.

The earl's body was found near a fortnight after the engagement, an account of which, and of the manner in which he was buried, was inserted in the Gazette in the following terms: "Harwich, June 10th, 1672. This day the body of the right honourable Edward, earl of Sandwich, being, by the order upon his coat, discovered floating on the sea, by one of his majesty's ketches, was taken up, and brought into this port; where Sir Charles Littleton the Governor receiving it, took immediate care for its embalming and honourable disposing, till his majesty's pleasure should be known concerning it. For the obtaining of which, his majesty

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was attended at Whitehall the next day, by the master of the said vessel, who, by Sir Charles Littleton's order, was sent to present his majesty with the George, found about the body of the said earl, which remained, at the time of its taking up, in every part unblemished, saving some impressions made by the fire upon his face and breast. Upon which his majesty, out of his princely regard to the great deservings of the said earl, and his unexampled performances in this last act of his life, hath resolved to have his body brought up to London; there, at his charge, to receive the rites of funeral due to his great quality and merits." Accordingly, on the 3d of July, the body being laid in the most solemn manner in a sumptuous barge at Deptford, was brought by water to Westminster, attended by the royal barges; the barges of the nobility, of the lord mayor, and of the several companies of the city of London, decorated suitable to the melancholy occasion: the trumpets and other music on board, sounded the deepest notes expressive of sorrow: the guns at the Tower were fired as the procession passed, and those at Whitehall when the corps was conveyed to Westminster-abbey. Eight earls supported his son, Edward earl of Sandwich, the chief mourner, and most of the nobility and other persons of quality then in town, assisted at the funeral obsequies of this illustrious admiral, whose remains were deposited in the duke of Albermarle's vault, on the north side of Henry the seventh's chapel.

* * * *Authorities.* Lediard's naval history. Campbell's lives of the admirals. British Biography, vol. 6.

The LIFE of
 E D W A R D H Y D E,
 EARL of CLARENDON,
 And Lord High Chancellor of England.

[A. D. 1608, to 1674.]

THIS celebrated statesman and historian, was descended from an ancient family in Cheshire, and he was the third son of Henry Hyde, Esq; a gentleman possessed of a small fortune, on the income of which he resided at Dinton, near Hindon, in Wiltshire, where the future chancellor was born in 1608.

He was educated under the private tuition of the vicar of Dinton, till he was turned of thirteen years of age, when he was sent to Oxford and in Lent term, 1622, became a student of Magdalen hall, where having improved his natural endowments by academical learning, he removed from thence, after he had taken the degree of bachelor of arts, to the Middle-Temple; there he studied the law for several years, and acquired great reputation in that honourable profession.

When the lawyers resolved to express publicly their disapprobation of Prynne's *Histriomastrix*, a treatise against plays and masques, levelled at Charles I. and his queen; Mr. Hyde and Mr. Whitlocke were chosen by the temple, to be managers, for that society, of a masque presented to their majesties, at Whitehall,

Whitehall, by the gentlemen of the inns of court, on candlemas day, 1634.

Mr. Hyde continued his attention to the business of his profession, seemingly without any intention to distinguish himself in public life, till the year 1640, when he was elected a member of the house of commons for Wotton Bassett in Wiltshire. In parliament, his abilities were soon discovered by the leading men of the house; and he shewed himself, through the course of the session to be a steady and active patriot, wholly intent upon the welfare and tranquillity of the nation, then in no small ferment upon many occasions.

But, though this parliament was abruptly dissolved, to the great grief and disappointment of Mr. Hyde, and all good men; the king and kingdom, as things stood, could not long remain without another; which met the third of November following, when Mr. Hyde served for the town of Saltash in Cornwall. His political talents begun now to be very much taken notice of, and he was appointed chairman of several committees at that troublesome æra; and he acquired great reputation as a true patriot by his conduct as manager of a conference with the house of lords for abolishing the oppressive jurisdiction of a tribunal called, "The court of York." And likewise by his learned and eloquent speech against the six judges who gave their opinions to the king in support of the legality of levying ship money.

But, though Mr. Hyde was very active in endeavouring to redress the real grievances of the nation, he was, on the other hand, as watchful to prevent innovations in the constitution; and a short bill being brought in to take away the bishops votes in parliament, and to leave them out in all commissions of the peace, or any thing that had rela-

tion to temporal affairs ; he was very earnest for the throwing it out, and said, That, from the time that parliaments begun, bishops had always been a part of it : that, if they were taken out, there would be no representatives of the clergy ; which would be great injustice.

Lord Falkland, who always sat next to him, (which was so much observed, that, if they came not in together, as they usually did, every body left the place for him that was absent) upon this occasion, opposed Mr. Hyde, and many of the house were so pleased to see the two inseparable friends divided on so important a point, that they could not conceal their joy, especially when they saw Mr. Hyde much surprized, as indeed he was, having never discovered the least inclination in the other towards such sentiments ; and therefore, they flattered themselves, that they might, in time, work the lord Falkland to a further compliance with the measures of the court ; but therein they found themselves much mistaken.

Mr. Hyde was one of the committee employed to draw up the articles of impeachment against the earl of Strafford, but being of the same opinion as the king, that he had been guilty only of misdemeanours, not of high treason, he refused to have any hand in the proceedings by attainder. In a word, he acted, upon patriotic, independant principles in the house, never opposing the king, but for his own, and the public benefit, nor adhering to opposition any longer, than while they had only the same glorious end in view. As soon therefore, as the commons went beyond the line of their duty, and began to assume the executive power vested in the crown, he left them, and repaired to the king at York, who was pleased to confer upon him the honour

honour of knighthood, and make him chancellor of the exchequer.

He attended his majesty to Nottingham, where he set up his standard, in August, 1642; but being a gentleman of the robe, and not of the sword, we hear little of him in the course of the civil war, till the treaty at Uxbridge in 1644, at which he was one of the commissioners for the king; where he shewed himself a strenuous assertor of the king's right to the militia; and vindicated the king's council from any mismanagement in reference to the affairs of Ireland, with which the parliament charged them.

The treaty being broken off, and the civil war going on, Sir Edward Hyde's province, for some time, was to attend the prince of Wales in the west. Upon the decline of the king's affairs, he embarked from Pendennis castle, in Cornwall, for the isle of Scilly, accompanied by the lords Capel and Culpepper, and from thence he went to Jersey, to meet the prince of Wales, but being greatly disgusted at the prince's removal to Paris in 1646; he refused to attend him there; and remained two years and an half at Jersey, where he employed his time, in composing great part of his well known "History of the rebellion."

In the month of May, 1648, Sir Edward Hyde received a letter from the queen, consort to Charles I. requiring him, pursuant to his majesty's commands, transmitted to her from England, to give his personal attendance on the prince of Wales at Paris, by a certain day; but the time was expired before he received the letter; and on his arrival at Rouen in Normandy, he found that the prince of Wales was gone to Flanders, upon which he followed him, and arriving at Dunkirk, he received intelligence, that his royal highness was on board a fleet,

commanded by prince Rupert, which had set sail for the Thames, and had left orders for Sir Edward, and his companion lord Cottington to follow him. The governor of Dunkirk provided them a frigate, in which they set sail to join the fleet, but they were attacked, boarded and plundered by Ostend pirates, which obliged them to put back; and the expedition failing, the royal fleet being refused admittance at Yarmouth, it was obliged to steer for Helvoetsluys; from whence the prince of Wales went to the Hague, and there Sir Edward Hyde and lord Cottington joined him.

In November 1649, they were sent by Charles II. joint ambassadors to the court of Spain, to solicit succours to enable the king to recover his crown, but the parliament fleet appearing upon the coast of Spain, deterred the Spanish ministry from aiding the royal cause; and after a tedious negotiation, they returned the following year.

Upon their arrival at the Hague, the king gave them an account of his unfortunate expedition to Scotland, and his defeat at Worcester, and as Sir Edward had given his advice against this expedition before he set out for Spain, he was not a little displeased that it had been undertaken in his absence. And finding he could be no longer useful to the king by his personal attendance, at a debauched court, he retired to Antwerp where he had settled his family; here he left no measures unattempted by letters and negotiations to compass the revolution; but this correspondence, his enemies about the king misrepresented, and pretended that he was secretly negotiating with Cromwell.

But in the end, having baffled all the designs of his adversaries, the most potent of whom was the queen dowager; and fully convinced the king, not only of his innocence, but of his zealous, constant

stant attachment to his cause, his majesty was pleased to make him lord chancellor of England in 1657 upon the death of Sir Edward Herbert, the last lord-keeper of the great seal. He received the great seal very unwillingly: the king first employing the marquis of Ormond, with whom his majesty knew he had an entire friendship, to dispose him to receive it; which he could not accomplish, Sir Edward giving him many reasons why there was no need of such an officer, or indeed any use of the great seal till the king, then at Bruges, should come into England.

The marquis told the king of it; who went himself to the chancellor's lodgings, and took notice of what the marquis had told him; and said, he would deal truly and freely with him; that the principal reason which he had alleged against receiving the seal, was the greatest reason that disposed him to confer it upon him; and then he pulled letters out of his pocket, which he had received from Paris, for the grant of several reversions in England of offices, and of lands. He mentioned to him also many other importunities with which he was every day disquieted; and, that he saw no other remedy to give himself ease, than to put the seal out of his own keeping, into such hands as would not be importuned, and would help him to deny: and thereupon he conjured Sir Edward to receive that trust, with many promises of his favour and protection: whereupon the earl of Bristol, and secretary Nicholas, using likewise their persuasions, he submitted to the king's pleasure.

The chief administration of affairs was now, in a very great degree, in the hands of the lord-chancellor; of whole capacity, as well as integrity, his majesty had had so long and convincing experience, that he was the more ready to leave all to him: Oliver's death, and the various revolutions that hap-
pened

pened upon it in England, revived the hopes and activity of the chancellor to promote the restoration of his royal master to his lost dominions; and most, if not all, the royal declarations, which were published, were of his drawing up. The restoration being happily effected, Sir Edward, as he had been partaker of the sufferings of his sovereign, had now a proportionable share in his good fortune.

Besides the office of lord high chancellor, which was confirmed to him, he was employed as a statesman, and the king entrusted the management of the public business of the nation chiefly to him. In 1660, he was elected chancellor of the university of Oxford, and created a peer of the realm by the title of baron Hyde in Wiltshire; and in 1661, he was raised to the dignity of viscount Cornbury and earl of Clarendon.

But his situation was far from being desirable, being attended with many difficulties and vexations, owing to the thoughtless disposition of the king, who had been very liberal of his promises to his friends during his exile, without considering how he should perform them, and now being importuned daily for places, pensions and other gratifications, he answered these solicitations with a gracious smile, and referred them for satisfaction to the lord chancellor, who being unable to gratify their desires, they threw the blame upon him, became his bitter enemies, and entered into schemes to ruin him. A most favourable opportunity soon offered, which seemed well calculated to procure his disgrace. His eldest daughter had been maid of honour to the king's sister, married to the prince of Orange, and during Miss Hyde's residence at the Hague, in this station, the duke of York, afterwards James II. fell in love with her, and made dishonourable

dishonourable proposals; but these being rejected, he privately married her: after the restoration, the lady came to England, and being with child, insisted upon the duke's avowing the marriage; which he endeavoured to evade; but the duchess persisting, "that she would have it known that she was his wife, let him use her ever so ill for it;" the duke communicated the whole affair to the king; and requested permission to acknowledge her publicly. Her father upon the first intimation of the affair, fell into such apparent fits of rage, and so rashly devoted his daughter to death, as a proper punishment for her presumption, that his friends thought he was unnaturally severe; and his enemies said he over acted his part as a political dissembler; and the latter opinion prevailed, when it was found that the king was easily reconciled to the match, and that the reconciliation of the chancellor with his daughter followed close upon it; and the malice of his enemies suggested the idea of a strange accusation against him, in consequence of this family alliance with the crown. It was said, that he had contrived the king's marriage with the infanta of Portugal, with a view of securing the succession to the throne, on the issue of his daughter the duchess of York; for it had been declared before the king's marriage took place by the Spanish ambassador, and the earl of Bristol, that the intended queen could have no children, and this declaration was verified in the sequel, for the queen was barren. However, the imputation on lord Clarendon was groundless, for it was well known that the great inducement to this marriage was the dowry which was to be 500000 l. besides the cession of Tangier and Bombay, to which was annexed a commercial treaty with Portugal highly beneficial to the English merchants.

The first open attack made upon the lord chancellor, was by the earl of Bristol, who in 1663, exhibited articles of high treason against him, in the house of lords. And what is still more remarkable there had been a long course of uninterrupted friendship both at home and abroad, both in prosperous and adverse fortune, between the earl of Bristol, and the earl of Clarendon; so that the same seemed to be, like the Gordian knot, indissoluble: but the chancellor refusing a small boon, as the earl of Bristol took it to be, which, it was said, was the passing a patent in favour of a court-lady; this so sowed the other's spirits, never dreaming he should be denied, that his thoughts suggested nothing to him from thenceforwards but malice and the highest revenge.

The whole charge teeming with inconsistency, and being evidently the effect of violent anger, could not affect him capitally, but several particulars in the accusation gave his enemies an opportunity to lessen him in the king's esteem, so that tho' he was honourably cleared from this prosecution without a trial, the judges having given it as their opinion, that there was not sufficient ground for proceeding further; yet it laid the foundation of his future disgrace. And from this time intrigues were carried on against him by the duke of Buckingham Sir Henry Bennet, afterwards earl of Arlington, and colonel Titus; and at length, the king grew tired of the chancellor's private remonstrances against his irregular life; his mistresses likewise complained to him, of the disrespect shewn them by his lordship, and these discontents in the palace uniting with the clamours of the people against him, his majesty, thought proper to send for the great seal in August 1667, which was no sooner delivered up, and his lordship

lordship removed from the exercise of all public trust and employment, but the commons proceeded to draw up articles against him, and Mr. Seymour, in their name impeached him at the bar of the house of lords, of treason and other high crimes and misdemeanours.

Thus was the disgrace of this great man accomplished, after he had enjoyed the king's confidence, and the most honourable office in the state about seven years. During which time the following incidents had rendered him extremely unpopular. His aversion to declaring war against the Dutch, though the nation had been grossly insulted by that country. His advising the sale of Dunkirk. Erecting a superb palace in a time of war, and in the year of the great plague; in which too, he made use of some stones which had been bought for the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral, a circumstance sufficient to exasperate the superstitious. The disrespect with which he affected to treat the house of commons, and his manifest contempt of their privileges. And, his opposition to the bill for liberty of conscience, in which his zeal for the protestant religion overshot its mark; for while he endeavoured to exclude papists from toleration by opposing this bill, he forgot that it included protestant dissenters of every denomination, whom he made his enemies.

A great number of satirical pieces were published before and after his dismissal, and amongst the rest a song consisting of many stanzas, at the close of which was the following epigram comprizing the principal heads of popular clamour against him. The song is intitled "CLARENDON'S HOUSE-WARMING."

Here

Here lie the sacred bones
 Of Paul, beguiled of his stones.
 Here lie the golden bribes
 Of many ruined families.
 Here lies the cavalier's debenture wall,
 Fixed on an eccentric basis :
 Here's Dunkirk town and Tangier hall,
 The queen's marriage and all,
 The Dutchman's *Templum pacis*.

However, it must be confessed, that the people were too severe upon the fallen minister, and rather ungrateful, for it is an undoubted fact, that he curbed the prerogative of the crown, and prevented the designs of his brethren in office, particularly the earl of Southampton, lord high treasurer, who wanted to make the king independent on parliaments, by procuring such a revenue to be settled on him for life, as would enable him to reign without calling them, except upon extraordinary emergencies, such as wars or rebellions.

Lord Clarendon perceiving he had no mercy to expect, by the virulent attacks made upon his character by almost all orders of men, and a new impeachment having been carried up to the lords against him by the commons he thought proper to leave the kingdom; but before he embarked for his second and last exile, he drew up an apology in a petition to the house of lords, vindicating his own conduct in the management of public affairs, and charging others with the miscarriages that had lately incensed the nation. The lords upon reading it, sent two of the judges to desire a conference with the commons on the contents of it. But the duke of Buckingham who was clearly aimed at in the petition, delivered it to the lower house, and in his usual

usual style of insult and ridicule said, "The lords have commanded me to deliver to you this scandalous and seditious paper sent from the earl of Clarendon. They bid me present it to you, and desire you, in a convenient time to send it to them again; for it has a style they are in love with, and therefore desire to keep it" Thus prejudiced, the commons read the petition, and the duke's friends had influence sufficient to carry the following vote, that it was "scandalous, malicious, and a reproach to the justice of the nation," whereupon it was ordered by both houses to be burnt by the common hangman; a proceeding which was a much greater reproach to a nation, too much swayed by popular prejudice. Lord Clarendon retired to France, but he was very near being driven from that kingdom, by the interest of his enemies: for soon after he landed at Calais, he received orders from the French court to leave France instantly; but being confined to his bed with the gout, he petitioned for time; and in the interval, the French court finding their political intrigues in England did not succeed as they expected, their behaviour to his lordship suddenly changed, and he was permitted to remain in that kingdom. The earl, upon this permission, set out for Avignon, and in his way thither, having taken up his lodgings in a small town called Eureux he was assaulted in a violent and unexpected manner by a body of English, Irish and Scotch seamen, who had entered into the service of France; and who, on the frequent complaints from the inhabitants of their ill behaviour, were to have been removed that very night: these desperadoes being informed of lord Clarendon's arrival, pretended great arrears were due to them for wages in England, and that he should pay them before he left the town: they likewise thought they should be rewarded by the Eng-
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lish government, if they killed him, and they had certainly effected it, having dragged him from his bed, down into the court yard of the house for that purpose, when providentially, their own commanding officer, assisted by the officers of the police, rescued him, and seized the ringleaders, three of whom were broke upon the wheel for this cruel attempt; and the French minister wrote a polite letter to his lordship in the king's name, expressing his majesty's concern for the affront and danger he had undergone.

The earl was succeeded in the seals by Sir Orlando Bridgman, by the title of lord keeper: in his chancellorship of Oxford, by archbishop Sheldon; and being informed, two or three years after his exile, that his daughter, the duchess of York was turning, if not turned papist; he wrote a well penned letter to the duke on the subject, as if his highness had been still a protestant, though he knew him to be a concealed papist, and another more at large to his daughter; wherein, though he shewed a very laudable distance and respect, upon account of the difference of their conditions, yet he used the freedom and authority, as well as the tenderness, of a parent; and manifested the great knowledge he had in polemical divinity, and the artifices of the church of Rome to gain proselytes.

After sojourning in different parts of France, he at last fixed his residence at Rouen in Normandy, where he died in the year 1674. His body was brought to England, and buried on the north side of Henry VIIth chapel in Westminster abbey.

This great and learned chancellor, besides several letters, speeches, &c. of his that are extant, wrote, 1. A full answer to an infamous and traitorous libel; entitled, A declaration of the commons of England, in parliament assembled, expressing
their

their reasons and grounds of passing their late resolutions, touching no farther address or application to be made to the king, Lond. 1648, 4to. 2. The estates and conditions of George duke of Buckingham, and Robert, earl of Essex. See *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, &c. Lond. 1672, 8vo. 3. *Animadversions on a book entitled, Fanaticism, fanatically imputed to the catholic church, by Dr. Stillingfleet; and the imputation refuted and retorted, by Ser. Cressi.* Lond. 1674, 8vo. 4. A brief view and survey of the dangerous and pernicious errors to church and state, in Mr. Hobbs's book, *The Leviathan.* Oxon. 1676, 4to. 5. The history of the rebellion, begun in 1641, &c. 3. vols. folio, and since in 8vo. He left in manuscript, a history, or historical account, of Ireland; made use of by Edm. Borlace, without acknowledgment, in his book, or books, published of the affairs of that kingdom: and, in 1759, three volumes more of his lordship's history were published by the university of Oxford, in 8vo. containing his life, as well as a continuation of his history, from the restoration to his banishment. To these the reader is referred for a more ample account of his private life after his banishment; and of the affairs of England from the restoration to that time: the limits of this work not admitting of tedious details of trifling incidents; much less of long political discussions and negotiations.

* * * *Authorities.* Whitelocke's memorials. Lives of the lord chancellors, Lond. 1708. Wood's *Athen.* Oxon. Burnet's hist. of his own times.

The LIFE of

SIR MATTHEW HALE,

Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench.

[A. D. 1609, to 1676.]

THIS great ornament of the law, was the son of Robert Hale, Esq; a barrister of Lincoln's-Inn, a gentleman of such strict honour, that he threw up his practice at the bar, because he could not reconcile it to his conscience, that what is called giving colour in pleadings, and some other chicanes common to the profession, were reconcilableness to that scrupulous, exact veracity and justice required in a pious christian. Upon this account he retired to the country, and lived upon the income of a small estate at Alderley in Gloucestershire, where his son Matthew was born in 1609. Both his parents died while he was a child, and the care of his education devolved on his guardian Anthony Kingscot, Esq; who put him under the tuition of Mr. Staunton, vicar of Wotton-under-Edge, till the year 1626, when he was sent to Magdalen-hall in Oxford, where he became a great proficient in learning; and continued for some time to be very assiduous at his studies: but some strolling players arriving at the university, his manners were corrupted by frequenting theatrical amusements, and he fell into many levities and extravagancies of youth, which took him off from his studies,

studies, and even gave him an aversion to them : so that he now began to learn manly exercises, and being robust and active, he succeeded so well in fencing, and the management of warlike weapons, which turned his thoughts to a military life, and induced him to accompany Mr. Sedgwick, his tutor, who was appointed chaplain to lord Vere, then serving in the Low Countries under the prince of Orange, to whom Mr. Hale intended to offer himself as a volunteer. But he was diverted from this course of life, by a law suit commenced against him for part of his paternal inheritance by Sir William Whitmore; and upon this occasion having recourse to Serjeant Glanville for his opinion on the case, that gentleman advised him to apply himself to the study of the law, and to embrace that profession. Mr. Hale took this advice, and was entered at Lincoln's-Inn, in the year 1629.

From this time, he gave up his disorderly company, and with it every kind of dissipation; and to make up for the time he had lost by idleness, he now applied so closely to his studies, that, it is said, he studied for many years, at the rate of sixteen hours daily. He had before been very expensive and gaudy in his apparel, but he now neglected his dress so much, that being a robust well made man, and but meanly cloathed, he was seized by a press-gang as a fit person to serve his majesty, and this accident made him more circumspect for the future, but it did not make him to run into any extremes, his apparel being neat, but plain.

His confirmed resolutions to reform his life, likewise arose from another extraordinary incident : he went out of town with some other young students on a party of pleasure, when one of them drank so much wine, though Mr. Hale used his utmost endeavours to prevent it, that he fell down before
them

them to all appearance dead, but with proper assistance was with great difficulty recovered. Upon this occasion, Mr. Hale retired to another room, and shutting himself in, fervently prayed to God for the life of his friend, and likewise for himself, that he might be forgiven for countenancing such excess; and he made a solemn vow, that he would never again keep such company, nor drink a toast to his dying day; and in both these points he religiously kept his word.

Not satisfied with the law books then extant, he was very diligent in searching ancient records, and from these, and collections out of the books he had read, he composed a most valuable common-place book. Mr. Hale's researches into antiquity were aided by the learned Mr. Selden, who, very early in life, formed an acquaintance with him, and had so great an esteem for him, that he appointed him to be one of his executors. Mr. Noy, the attorney-general, likewise directed his studies, and such an intimacy sprung up between them, that Mr. Hale was usually called, Young Noy.

Mr. Hale was called to the bar, a short time before the open rupture between king Charles I. and his parliament; and at this critical juncture it was extremely difficult for the gentlemen of the robe to act in such a manner as to preserve independency in their principles, and to steer clear of danger. Our young counsellor however, had read the life of Titus Pomponius Atticus, the celebrated Epicurean philosopher and Roman orator, who during the wars of Cæsar and Pompey, and of Anthony and Brutus, conducted himself with such address, that he was esteemed and caressed by all parties; he made him the model for his own behaviour, and closely adhered to the two favorite maxims of the Roman philosopher, "To engage in no faction,
nor

nor meddle with public affairs :”—“ Constantly to favour and relieve the oppressed.” Thus he ingratiated himself with the royalists, by benevolent assistance to distressed cavaliers; and he procured the esteem of the parliamentarians by his integrity and great abilities in his profession, so that he was employed as counsel by both parties; and though he carefully avoided giving offence, he did not want spirit and resolution upon proper occasions. He was one of the counsel for the earl of Strafford, for archbishop Laud, and for Charles I.; but the king not acknowledging the jurisdiction of the court, he had no opportunity to display his eloquence in the royal cause; but in his defence of lord Craven, he pleaded with such strength of argument, that the attorney-general threatened him for appearing against the government, upon which he boldly replied, “ that he was pleading in defence of those laws, which the government had declared they would maintain and preserve, and he was doing his duty to his client; so that he was not to be daunted by threatnings.” In 1643, he took the covenant, and sat several times with other laymen in the assembly of divines. He was then in great esteem with the parliament, and employed by them as a lawyer upon many important affairs; in particular, he was appointed one of the commissioners to treat with those nominated by the king, upon the reduction of Oxford; in this capacity he performed a signal service to the republic of letters, by entreating General Fairfax to spare the university, with all its ancient treasures of learning.

Tho’ he sincerely lamented the fate of Charles I. yet he thought it his duty to take the engagement to the commonwealth; and in 1652, he was one of the able men in the law appointed by the parliament to revise and reform the laws of England.

Oliver Cromwell, as soon as he was made protector, rightly judging that the countenance of a man of Mr. Hale's abilities and character on the bench of justice, would give weight to his government, never ceased his importunities, till he accepted the office of one of the justices of the common bench, as it was then called: for which purpose he was made by writ a serjeant in January 1654. He had great scruples concerning the legality of the authority under which he was to act as a judge, and after he had been two or three circuits, he refused to try criminal causes; and he was the more readily excused, because upon some occasions he had acted with remarkable integrity and firmness, even in opposition to the power from whence he enjoyed his commission. Dr. Burnet, in his life of Sir Matthew Hale, produces one instance which ought to be transmitted with his name to latest posterity, if it were only as a mirror for judges. "Soon after he was made a judge, a trial was brought on before him at Lincoln assizes, against a soldier of the garrison there, for the murder of a townsman who had been of the king's party. The townsman was in a field with a fowling piece on his shoulder, which the soldier observing, he went up to him, and told him, he was acting contrary to an order made by the protector, "that none who had been of the king's party should carry arms," and thereupon would have forced his gun from him; but he, being stronger than the soldier, threw him down, and having beat him, left him. The soldier, however, soon went into the town, and telling a comrade how he had been used, prevailed on him to assist him, in taking revenge. Accordingly, they both watched his coming to town, the comrade demanded his gun, which he refusing, the same soldier struck him, and as they were struggling, the other came behind him,

and

and ran his sword into his body, which killed him on the spot. It happened in the time of the assizes, so that they were both tried soon after the fact. Against the comrade there was no evidence of malice prepense, he was therefore found guilty only of manslaughter and burnt in the hand; but the other on the clearest evidence, was convicted of murder and though colonel Whaley, governor of the garrison, came into court, and urged that the man was killed for disobeying the protector's order, and that the soldier had but done his duty, yet judge Hale paid no regard to his reasoning, nor to some menaces he threw out; for he not only passed sentence against him, but ordered execution to be done so suddenly, that there could be no time to apply for a reprieve. Upon the demise of Oliver, he not only excused himself from accepting the mourning that was sent him, but also refused to accept the new commission tendered to him by Richard Cromwell; alleging, "that he could no longer act under such authority." In the parliament convened by Richard Cromwell, in January 1659, he was elected one of the burgesses for the university of Oxford, in gratitude for the service he had formerly done that learned body. In the healing parliament of 1660, which recalled Charles II. he was knight of the shire for the county of Gloucester; and moved the house, that a committee might be appointed to look into the propositions that had been made, and the concessions that had been offered by Charles I. during the civil war, that from thence such propositions might be digested, as they should think fit to be sent over to the king at Breda.

In the space of a month after the king's restoration, he was re-called to the degree of a serjeant at law, by the royal writ, Cromwell's being deemed illegal, and upon settling the courts of Westminster

ster hall in November, he was constituted chief baron of the exchequer. When the lord chancellor Clarendon delivered him his commission, he told him, that if the king could have found an honefter and fitter man for that employment, he would not have advanced him to it; and that he had therefore preferred him, because he knew none that deserved it so well. In this station he continued eleven years, and he very much raised the reputation and practice of his court by his impartial administration of justice, his indefatigable diligence, and his great exactness in trials. This gave occasion to the only complaint that was made against him; "that he did not dispatch matters quick enough," but his delay generally proved decisive, so that there were seldom any new trials, by appeal from his judgments. It was usual for persons in such high stations as his to have the honour of knight-hood conferred upon them, but he was desirous to avoid it, and therefore did not go to court, which the lord chancellor observing, sent for him to his house upon business, when he knew the king was to be there, and when they met, he told his majesty "there was his modest chief baron," upon which his majesty insisted upon making him a knight. It is recorded of this great man, that he manifested such an aversion to the very appearance of bribery, as was construed into affectation; and some remarkable instances are given of this his scrupulous disposition; one of which may suffice to determine his character.

Upon one of his circuits, a gentleman who had a trial to come on at the assizes, sent him a buck for his table; upon which, when he heard his name mentioned in court, he asked, if he was not the same person that had sent him the buck, and being answered in the affirmative, he told him, he could

not

not suffer the trial to go on, till he had paid him for his buck; to which the gentleman answered, that he never sold venison, and that he had done no more to him, than to every Judge that had gone the circuit; but all would not do, for the chief baron would not suffer the trial to proceed, till he had paid for the venison; and it appeared that he was right, for the gentleman withdrew the record, which plainly shewed he intended the present should influence him.

Sir Matthew Hale, agreeable to one of the maxims of Pomponius Atticus, now favoured the dissenters, thinking they were oppressed in this reign; and he readily joined with the lord-keeper Sir Orlando Bridgeman, and the learned Dr. Wilkins, bishop of Chester, in a bill for the comprehension of the more moderate dissenters within the pale of the established church, and a limited indulgence to others; but the design proved abortive, the clergy of the establishment exerting themselves with great violence against it; and by their influence the bill miscarried in the house of commons.

In 1671, our learned and upright Judge was promoted to the high office of lord chief Justice of all England, vacant by the death of Sir John Keeling. This promotion gave great satisfaction to the people, who highly applauded the king's choice, for they considered Sir Matthew Hale, in his capacity of chief Justice of the court of king's bench, as the guardian of their liberties, and thought they could not be better deposited than in the hands of a Judge who thoroughly understood them, and who possessed courage and integrity to maintain the sacred trust reposed in him: so far were they in his time, from considering this high officer, as an instrument of regal prerogative, ready

upon all occasions to sacrifice the rights and privileges of the people, to the will of the sovereign, signified by his support of arbitrary ministers of state. But he held this important post only four years and an half, for he was suddenly attacked with an inflammation of his midriff, in the beginning of the year 1676, which in two days reduced him so very low, that he found himself unable to go through the fatigue of public business, and therefore he solicited a writ of ease, which being delayed, he resigned in February, and he died in the month of December of the same year. He was interred in the church-yard of Alderley; for he did not approve of the indecent practice of burying in churches, but used to say, “the churches were for the living, and the church-yards for the dead.”

Sir Matthew Hale was twice married, and had ten children, by his first lady, but he survived all but his eldest daughter, and his youngest son. The character of this upright Judge was as laudable in private, as in public life. He was eminent for piety, hospitality, and charity, and much commended for his judgment in the choice of the objects of his benevolence. In a word, we have not a finer picture in modern history, of a great and good man, than is exhibited in the life of Sir Matthew Hale; as it is written at large by Dr. Burnet, the famous bishop of Salisbury.

During the vacations of the law, he amused himself with the study of natural and moral philosophy, and mathematics; in which sciences he was a writer of no small repute, for the time in which he lived: but his fame as an author is founded upon an elaborate work, intitled, *Historia Placitorum Corcnæ*. The History of the pleas of the crown,
first

first published in 1736, from his original manuscript; the several references to the records being examined by the originals, and large notes added, by Sollom Emlyn, of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq; in two volumes, folio. By his will he bequeathed all his law manuscripts, which he had been collecting upwards of forty years, to the society of Lincoln's-Inn; and he ordered that they should be bound, and kept safe together, by chaining them to the library; not to be disposed of; but if any of his posterity, being members of that society, should desire to transcribe any book, and give good security to restore it again in a prefixed time, they were empowered to lend one volume at a time. And he calls them, "A treasure not fit for every man's view;" nor, says he, is every man capable of making use of them.

The list of his law tracts and miscellaneous works of less note are to be found in The General Biographical Dictionary. In Biographia Britannica, and in Burnet's Life, to which Authorities we stand indebted for our concise memoirs of this illustrious magistrate.

The LIFE of

ANDREW MARVELL.

[A. D. 1620, to 1678.]

THIS renowned patriot was the son of Mr. Andrew Marvell, minister and schoolmaster of Kingston upon Hull in Yorkshire, where he was born in the year 1620; and in early youth discovering a genius for letters, he was admitted (at thirteen years of age) a student in Trinity-college Cambridge. But he had not been long at the university before he was enticed from his studies, by the jesuits and taken to London; fortunately his father got early intelligence of this seduction, and finding him in a bookseller's shop, persuaded him to return to college, where he applied to his studies again with great assiduity, and took the degree of bachelor of arts in 1638, the eighteenth year of his age. About this time, he lost his father by a melancholy accident, the particulars of which are thus related. "On the shore of the Humber, opposite to Kingston, lived a lady of exemplary virtue and good sense, between whom and Mr. Marvell, the father, a close friendship subsisted; and this lady had an only daughter, the emblem of her mother, for every laudable accomplishment, which
made

made her so fond of this darling child, that she could scarcely bear to let her go out of her sight. Yet, upon the earnest request of her friend Mr. Marvell she permitted her to go to Kingston to stand god-mother to one of his children, though she knew she must be absent at least one night. The next day, when the young lady came down to the water side, in order to return home, she found the wind very high, and the passage so dangerous, that the waterman earnestly dissuaded her from crossing. But she, having never willingly disobliged her mother, and knowing that she would be miserable till she saw her again, resolved to hazard her life rather than prolong the anxiety of a fond parent: upon which Mr. Marvell, having, with difficulty, prevailed on some watermen to attempt the passage, accompanied the young lady; and just as they put off, apprehensive of the consequence, he flung his gold-headed cane on shore, desiring some friends who had attended them, if he perished, to give that cane to his son, and bid him remember his father: his fears were too just, for the boat soon overset, and they both perished. The mother of the young lady was for some time inconsolable, but when her grief subsided, she reflected on young Marvell's loss, and determined to supply to him the want of a father, his future education therefore was at her expence, and she made him her heir.

With the assistance of this lady's fortune; the young gentleman was enabled to travel through most of the polite countries of Europe. It appears by his satirical poem, intitled, "Flecknoe, an English priest at Rome," that he had visited that city, where it is thought he composed it. He was likewise in France, where he exercised his poetical talents upon Lancelot Joseph de Maniban, a French abbot, who pretended to characterise persons he had never seen,

and to prognosticate their good or ill fortune from their hand-writing: the absurdities of this man he ridiculed in a latin poem written upon the spot and addressed to him. But we have no account of the time when this occurrence happened, nor any regular memoirs of him till his return to England, except a slight intimation that he passed some time at Constantinople, in the capacity of secretary to the English embassy. In 1653, he was employed by Oliver Cromwell as preceptor to a young gentleman of the name of Dutton, and in 1657, he was appointed assistant latin secretary to the protector, in conjunction with the celebrated John Milton. A short time before the restoration, he was chosen to represent his native town in parliament, in which station, being constantly re-elected upon the calling of new parliaments, he served till his death; and it was his custom to send the particulars of the proceedings of the house of commons on subjects of consequence, to the principal townsmen of Hull, always joining his opinion on the business in hand. And his constituents entertained so high a sense of their obligations to him, that they allowed him an honourable pension all the time that he represented them, and always treated him with the greatest respect.

Mr. Marvell merited the applause, not only of his constituents, but of all his virtuous countrymen, for his incorruptible integrity, of which a remarkable instance is given by Mr. Cooke, in his life of our patriot, prefixed to his edition of his works. He informs us, that Mr. Marvell had rendered himself obnoxious to government, both by his actions and his writings; and notwithstanding his proceedings were all contrary to his private interest, nothing could ever shake his resolution. Having one night been entertained by the king, who took
great

great delight in his company, his majesty the next day, sent the lord treasurer Danby to find out his lodging. Mr. Marvell, who then lodged up two pair of stairs in a court in the Strand, was writing, when the lord treasurer opened the door abruptly upon him. Surprized at the sight of so unexpected a visitor, he told him, he believed he had mistook his way. Lord Danby replied, not now I have found Mr. Marvell, telling him he came with a message from his majesty, which was, to know what he could do to serve him. His answer was, in his usual facetious manner, that it was not in the king's power to serve him. But then coming to a serious explanation of his meaning, he told the lord treasurer, he knew the nature of courts full well, he had been in many; that whoever is distinguished by a prince's favour is expected to vote in his interest. Lord Danby told him, his majesty had only a just sense of his merits, in regard to which alone he desired to know whether there was any place at court he could be pleased with. These offers had no effect on him, though urged with the greatest earnestness. He told the lord treasurer he could not accept them with honour, for he must be either ungrateful to the king in voting against him, or false to his country in giving into the measures of the court; therefore the only favour he begged of his majesty was, that he would esteem him as dutiful a subject as any he had, and more in his proper interest in refusing his offers, than if he had embraced them. Lord Danby finding no arguments could prevail, told him, the king his master had ordered a thousand pounds for him, which he hoped he would receive, till he could think what further to ask of his majesty. The last offer was rejected with the same steadiness as the

first; though as soon as the lord treasurer was gone, he was forced to send to a friend, to borrow a guinea.

This story like most others, has received considerable additions, not founded on any warrantable authority; and a dialogue between Marvell and his man, in the presence of lord Danby, is introduced by some writers, full of absurdities and improbabilities, which ought to be rejected.

In 1672, Mr. Marvell, with a public spirit, becoming his patriotic character, engaged in a controversy with Dr. Samuel Parker, at that time archdeacon of Canterbury, and afterwards bishop of Oxford. This divine had signalized himself by his zeal for the hierarchy of the church of England, by defending and encouraging prosecutions against all nonconformists. In 1670, he had published a book, intitled, "Ecclesiastical Polity," which being warmly opposed, the following year he published, "A Defence of it;" but what particularly excited Mr. Marvell to attack him was, his preface or dedication to bishop Bramhall, in which he favours unlimited monarchy, and recommends a rigorous prosecution of all dissenters from the established church. His Ecclesiastical Polity is a bitter libel upon the religious and civil rights of mankind; Marvell, now fully convinced of the dangerous tendency of such books, was determined to expose the author, and, if possible, to drive him out of the field of controversy with disgrace; this he happily effected by a tract called, "The Rehearsal Transported," in which, with great strength of argument, and much wit and humour, he points out the absurdity of Parker's tenets. To this the doctor published an answer, but without his name; whereupon Mr. Marvell, in 1673, published, "A second part of his Rehearsal Transported;" occasioned

tioned by two letters, the first, printed by a nameless author, intitled, "The Reproof, &c." the second, left for me at a friend's house, subscribed J. G. and concluding with these words: "If thou darest to print or publish any lie or libel against doctor Parker, by the eternal God I will cut thy throat." Several other anonymous pieces were published against Mr. Marvell in favour of Parker, but the patriot had so greatly the advantage, that he silenced the doctor, and humbled his whole party; for even the king himself, in behalf of whose unlimited power Parker had written, was charmed with the wit of Marvell's Rehearsal; and it was read with avidity by all ranks of people; so that the archdeacon for very shame was obliged to retire from London, and did not trouble the press again for many years.

Our steady and active friend to the interests of religious and civil liberty, attended closely to the duties of his parliamentary trust from this time to 1676, without engaging in controversial writing; his hours of avocation from his attendance in parliament being chiefly employed in writing to his constituents and to his particular friends, the most instructive and entertaining accounts of the affairs of the nation and of the intrigues of the court: these epistles, which are very curious, make part of his works, which highly merit the attention of every friend to the constitution of his country, and therefore, with pleasure, the editor of these memoirs, instead of borrowing large extracts from them, recommends them to be studied by young gentlemen, and to be referred to, by all persons who have any concern in the public business of the nation.

In the year abovementioned, Mr. Marvell published another controversial piece intitled, "Mr. Smirk, or the divine in mode." Being certain annotations

tations on the animadversions on, *The Naked Truth*. Together with a short historical essay, concerning general councils, creeds, and impositions in matters of religion." "The Naked Truth" had been written in favour of religious liberty, in opposition to the arrogant claims of assuming churchmen, and particularly against Dr. Turner, then master of St. John's-college, Cambridge, a great defender of ecclesiastical tyranny, and the imposition of human creeds and articles of faith: an answer to this book under the title of "Animadversions on the Naked Truth," appeared soon after its publication, but the writer was not known, however, it was suspected to be his old antagonist Parker, therefore, our author once more employed his masterly pen, in annotations upon the animadversions of his adversary, and silenced him a second time.

Having now completed his victory over the advocates for ecclesiastical despotism; he resolved to push the matter home upon administration, and to demonstrate, that in consequence of the principles maintained and propagated by those zealous high-churchmen, popery and arbitrary government had made a considerable progress lately in England. This gave birth to his admired historical and political treatise on the growth of popery and arbitrary government in England; particularly from November 1675, when the parliament was prorogued, to the meeting of that national council in July 1677. In this work, the principles of our excellent constitution are clearly laid down, and the limited, legal authority of the kings of England is ascertained; and it is proved, that the glory of the monarch, and the happiness of the people, depend on a strict, mutual observance of the laws prescribed by the constitution. In comparing the sovereigns of England with other potentates, he has this remarkable

markable passage : “ The kings of England are in nothing inferior to other princes, save in being more abridged from injuring their own subjects, but have as large a field, as any, of external felicity, wherein to exercise their own virtue, and to reward and encourage it in others. In short, there is nothing that comes nearer the divine perfection, than where the monarch, as with us, enjoys a capacity of doing all the good imaginable to mankind, under a disability to all that is evil.”

He likewise draws a striking contrast of the miseries of a nation living under a popish administration, opposed to the blessings enjoyed under a protestant government ; and a stronger proof cannot be given of the complexion of the politics of the court at that æra, than the disgust taken by the ministry to the free sentiments contained in this book ; it has been denied by some historians, that Charles II. either encouraged popery, or governed arbitrarily : how then are we to account for the conduct of his ministry, respecting a publication which tended to infuse into the minds of his subjects just notions of their allegiance to their sovereign, a veneration for the constitution of their country, and an attachment to the protestant religion, as being the firm support of that constitution. It was stiled in the Gazette, a scandalous libel, and a reward of one hundred pounds was offered for the discovery of the hander of it to the press, and of fifty for the author, printer, or publisher : but it does not appear that any information was given in, either against the author, or any other persons, for no prosecution ensued. But Mr. Marvell had now rendered himself so obnoxious to administration ; to the venal friends of a corrupt court, and to the heir apparent to the crown, James duke of York, afterwards James II. who was himself a bigoted

bigoted Roman catholic, that he was beset on all sides by powerful enemies, who watched all his motions, and even proceeded so far as to menace his life; which obliged him to use great caution, to appear seldom in public, and frequently to conceal the place of his abode; yet it is presumed, all his care proved ineffectual to preserve him from their vengeance, for he died in August 1678, not without strong suspicions of being poisoned. The public, however, reaped the benefits of his patriotism the following year; for his speeches in parliament and his writings had opened the eyes of several members of the house of commons, and those who had been for many years obsequious to the court, now formed a strong opposition to its measures, so that the king saw himself under a necessity in the beginning of the year 1679 to dissolve this favourite assembly, which had sat for eighteen years, one long prorogation excepted, and had incurred the odious epithet of "The pensionary parliament." The new parliament, which met in March 1679, seemed to have imbibed the sentiments of the deceased patriot; the growth of popery, the arbitrary measures of the ministry, and the expediency of excluding the duke of York from the succession, were the chief objects that engaged their attention, which produced their dissolution in the month of July, in the same year; but the spirit of civil liberty was now gone forth among the people, and the next parliament, which met in 1680, still more steadily opposed the popish succession; and the same expedient to ward off this fatal blow was made use of; this parliament was likewise dissolved in 1681, and no other was called during the remainder of the reign of Charles II; for a new race of patriots had sprung up as it were from the ashes of Andrew Marvell, whose measures against the court, though they

were

were in some respects too violent and unjustifiable, had such an influence, that the ministry dreaded a new parliament; and though some of them fell a sacrifice to their intemperate zeal, yet it may with great truth be asserted; that the vigorous opposition of Andrew Marvell, and of those illustrious patriots who immediately succeeded him, and whose lives will be given, in the course of this volume, laid the foundation of the glorious revolution.

In 1688, the inhabitants of the town of Kingston upon Hull, to testify their grateful remembrance of Mr. Marvell's patriotic services, collected a sum of money to erect a monument over his grave, in the parish church of St. Giles's in the fields, London; but the rector would not suffer any monument, or inscription to be placed there; so that this laudable design was laid aside: but no one was at a loss, for the reason of this impotent resentment: the honour being intended to the professed enemy of ecclesiastical government.

The epitaph drawn up upon the occasion, is a manly composition, and it is hoped, the insertion of it in, *The BRITISH PLUTARCH* may in some measure answer the best use of monumental inscriptions: that of exhibiting to the sons and heirs of freedom, a bright example of active and irreproachable patriotism.

BRITISH PLUTARCH.

Near this place

Lieth the body of ANDREW MARVELL, Esq;

A man so endowed by nature,
So improved by education, study, and travel,
So consummated by experience and learning;
That joining the most peculiar grace of wit,
With a singular penetration and strength of judgment,
And exercising all these in the whole course of his life,
With unalterable steadiness in the ways of virtue,
He became the ornament and example of his age:
Beloved by good men, feared by bad, admired by all;
Though imitated, alas! by few;
And scarce paralleled by any.

But a tomb-stone can neither contain his character,
Nor is marble necessary to transmit it to posterity:

It is engraved on the minds of this generation,
And will be always legible in his inimitable writings.
Nevertheless,

He having served near 20 years successively in parliament,
And that, with such wisdom, dexterity, integrity, & courage
As became a true Patriot;

The town of Kingston upon Hull,
From whence he was constantly deputed to that assembly,
Lamenting in his death, the public loss,
Have erected this monument of their grief and gratitude.

1688.

He died in the 58th year of his age,

On the 16th day of August, 1678.

Heu fragile humanum genus! heu terrestria vana!

Heu quam Spectatum continet urna virum!

An elegant new edition of the works of Andrew Marvell, has been lately published.

* * * *Authorities.* Cooke's Life of Andrew Marvell
prefixed to his works, in 2 vol. 12mo. Lond. 1727.
Macaulay's Hist. of England. Biog. Britan.

The LIFE of
ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER,
 EARL of SHAFTESBURY,
 Lord High Chancellor of ENGLAND.

[A. D. 1621, to 1683.]

THIS able and honest statesman, was the only son of Sir John Cooper, of Rockborn, in the county of Southampton, bart. by Anne, daughter and sole heiress of Sir Anthony Ashley, of Winborne St. Giles, in the county of Dorset, bart. where he was born, in the year 1621.

His father dying before he was ten years of age, he succeeded to an estate of 8000*l.* per annum. Being a boy of uncommon parts, his guardians sent him to Oxford at the age of fifteen, where he became a fellow-commoner of Exeter college, under the tuition of the famous Dr. John Prideaux, who was then rector of it. He is said to have studied assiduously there, for about two years: he then removed to Lincoln's-inn, where he applied himself, with great vigour, to the study of the law, and especially to that part of it which gave him a perfect insight into the constitution of this kingdom.

In the nineteenth year of his age, he was elected for Tewksbury, in Gloucestershire, in the parliament which met at Westminster on the thirteenth of April, 1640.

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The outlines of a true patriot and of an able politician were discovered very early in his lordship's character, by an amiable instance of his loyalty to his king, and of his regard for the public tranquillity; for at the beginning of the civil war, he repaired to CHARLES I. at Oxford, offered his assistance, and projected a scheme, not for subduing or conquering his country, but for reducing such as had either deserted or mistaken their duty, to his majesty's obedience.

He was introduced to the king by lord Falkland, his friend, then secretary of state, and presented to him, as having something to offer to his majesty worthy consideration. At this audience he told the king, that he could put an end to the war, if his majesty pleased, and would assist him in it. The king answered, That he was a very young man for so great an undertaking. "Sire," replied he, "that will not be the worse for your affairs, provided I do the business." Whereupon the king shewing a willingness to hear him, he discoursed to him to this purpose:

"The gentlemen, and men of estates, who first engaged in this war, seeing now, after a year or two, that it seems to be no nearer an end than it was at first, and beginning to be weary of it, I am very well satisfied, would be glad to be in quiet at home again, if they could be assured of redress of their grievances, and have their rights and liberties secured to them. This, I am satisfied, is the present temper generally throughout England, and particularly in those parts where my estate and concerns lie. If therefore your majesty will impower me to treat with the parliament garrisons, to grant them a full and general pardon, with an assurance that a general amnesty, arms being laid down on both sides, should reinstate all things in the same posture

posture they were before the war, and that then, a free parliament should do what more remained to be done for the settlement of the nation."

He added farther, That he would begin and try the experiment in his own country, and doubted not but the good success he should have there, would open him the gates of other adjoining garrisons, by bringing them the news of peace and security, on laying down their arms.

Being furnished with full power, according to his desire, he repaired to Dorsetshire, where he managed a treaty with the garrisons of Pool, Weymouth, Dorchester, and others; and was so successful in it, that one of them was actually put into his hands, as the others were to have been in a few days: but prince Maurice, who commanded some of the king's forces, being with his army then in those parts, no sooner heard that the town was surrendered, but he presently marched into it, and gave the pillage of it to the soldiers.

This Sir Anthony saw with the utmost displeasure, and could not forbear expressing his resentment to the prince, so that there passed some pretty hot words between them; but the violence was committed, and thereby his design broken. All that he could do, was, to send to the other garrisons he was in treaty with, to stand upon their guard, for that he could not secure his articles to them: and so this design proved abortive, and died in silence.

Sir Anthony, it is said, soon after, projected another scheme in conjunction with serjeant Fountain, to terminate the war, which was, that the gentlemen of all the counties in England should arm the countrymen, and endeavour to suppress both armies; and this plan being partly carried into execution, gave rise to the third army called, the clubmen,

men, who struck so much terror into the armies of both the king and the parliament, that the former never forgave Sir Anthony; if all the leaders in this project had been true to their engagements and had risen at the appointed time, it is thought they would have carried their point, but some of them failing, it miscarried.

Sir Anthony was afterwards invited to Oxford by a letter from his majesty; but perceiving that he was not confided in, that his behaviour was disliked, and his person in danger, he retired to the parliament quarters, and soon after went up to London, where he was well received by that party, to which he then adhered. He accepted a commission from the parliament, and raising forces in Dorsetshire, took Wareham by storm, in 1644; and soon after reduced all the adjacent parts.

Towards the end of the year 1645, he was chosen sheriff of Norfolk, and approved by the parliament. The next year he was sheriff of Wiltshire. In 1651, he was of the committee of twenty, appointed to consider of ways and means for reforming the law. He was also one of the members of the convention that met after Cromwell had turned out the long parliament, in 1653.

He was again member of parliament in 1654, and one of the principal persons who signed the famous protestation, charging the protector with tyranny and arbitrary government; and he always opposed the illegal measures of that arbitrary usurper to the utmost.

When the protector Richard was deposed, and the Rump came again into power, they nominated Sir Anthony one of their council of state, and a commissioner for managing the army. But he was at that very time engaged in a secret correspondence with

with the friends of king Charles II. and was greatly instrumental in promoting his restoration.

By this may be easily discerned the opinion he had of the illegal and arbitrary proceedings of Oliver Cromwell, and how much of the sufferings of the royal party would have been prevented, had the point of a free parliament, which he always contended for, been then gained. His majesty's restoration must have been the natural consequence of it. The constant correspondence he always kept up with the royal party, to the hazard of his life and fortune are sufficient testimonies of his sincerity to the royal interest and service.

In short, he was so strenuous in opposing the authority of the protectors, father and son, that we find him accused before the parliament, in the year 1659, for keeping intelligence with the king, and for having provided a force of men in Dorsetshire, to join with Sir George Booth in attempting to restore his majesty to the throne. After the resignation of Richard Cromwell, he was one of the nine of the old council of state who sent the letter to General Monk, to encourage him in his design of accomplishing the restoration.

He was likewise in the list of that council of state consisting of thirty-nine, upon whom an oath was endeavoured to be imposed for the abjuration of the royal line; but, by his influence and General Monk's, over colonel Morley, that oath was opposed in council, as being a snare, and against their consciences. This was strongly pleaded by the moderate part of the council, whereof this great patriot was one; and thus an end was put to that oath, and to the council, chosen only for that purpose.

He was returned a member for Dorsetshire, in that which was called, the Healing Parliament, which
sat

fat upon the twenty-fifth of April, 1660; and a resolution being taken to restore the constitution, he was named one of the twelve members of the house of commons to carry their invitation to the king. It was in performing this service that he had the misfortune to be overturned in a carriage upon a Dutch road, and thereby to receive a dangerous wound between the ribs, which ulcerated many years after, and was opened when he was lord chancellor.

But though Sir Anthony was greatly instrumental in forwarding the restoration, it ought to be remembered to his honour, that he was for prescribing conditions to the king, and even proposed that he should be obliged to sign the treaty offered to his father in the isle of Wight for the security of the rights and privileges of the subjects; but in this he was over-ruled by Monk.

Upon the king's coming over, he was sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council. He was also one of the commissioners for the trial of the regicides; and, though the Oxford historian is very severe upon him on this occasion, yet he is not believed to have been any ways concerned in betraying or shedding the blood of his sovereign.

By letters patent, dated April 20, 1661, he was created baron Ashley, of Winborn St. Giles's: soon after he was made chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer, and then one of the lords commissioners for executing the office of high-treasurer. He was afterwards made lord-lieutenant of the county of Dorset; and, on the twenty-third of April, 1672, created baron Cooper, of Pawlet, in the county of Somerset, and earl of Shaftesbury.

At this time, his conduct as a minister of state is greatly censured, because he was one of that servile junto, known by the name of the *Cabal*; being

so styled from the initial letters of their titles. C, lif-
ford, A, shley, B, uckingham, A, rlington and L, au-
derdale.

In the month of November, the same year, he was raised to the dignity of lord high chancellor of England. An office for which he was eminently qualified, as well by his great knowledge of the laws and constitution of his country, as by his powers of elocution and eloquence, which enabled him to make a great and distinguishing figure in this important post: the duties of which he discharged with uncommon ability, and the utmost integrity. Yet he held the seals but a short time, the king having thought proper to remove him in November 1673. And the following account is given of the manner of his resignation, by Echard, in his history of England. Soon after the breaking up of the parliament, the earl was sent for on Sunday morning to court, as was also Sir Heneage Finch, attorney-general, to whom the seals were promised. As soon as the earl came, he retired with the king into the closet, while the prevailing party waited in triumph, to see him return without the purse. His lordship being alone with the king, said, "Sire, I know you intend to give the seals to the attorney-general, but I am sure your majesty never intended to dismiss me with contempt." The king, who could not do an ill-natured thing, replied, "God's fish, my lord, I will not do it with any circumstance that may look like an affront." "Then, sire," said the earl, "I desire your majesty will permit me to carry the seals before you to chapel, and then send for them afterwards from my house." To this his majesty readily consented, and the earl amused the king with news and entertaining stories, till the very minute he was to go to chapel, purposely to deceive the courtiers and his

his successor, who he believed was upon the rack, for fear he should prevail upon the king to change his mind.

The king and the earl came out of the closet, talking together and smiling, and went together to chapel, which greatly surprised them all; and some ran immediately to tell the duke of York, that all their measures were broken. After sermon, the earl went home with the seals, and that evening the king gave them to the attorney-general.

After he had quitted the court, he continued to make a great figure in parliament; and in 1675, the lord-treasurer Danby introduced the test-bill into the house of lords, which was vigorously opposed by the earl of Shaftesbury, who, if we may believe bishop Burnet, distinguished himself more in this sessions, than ever he had done before. This dispute occasioned a prorogation, and there ensued a recess of fifteen months.

When the parliament met again on the sixteenth of February, 1677, the duke of Buckingham argued, that it ought to be considered as dissolved. The earl of Shaftesbury was of the same opinion, and maintained it with so much warmth, that himself, the duke, the earl of Salisbury, and the lord Wharton, were sent to the Tower, where he continued for thirteen months, though the other lords, upon their submission, were immediately discharged.

When he was set at liberty, he managed the opposition to the earl of Danby's administration with such vigour and dexterity, that it was found impossible, to do any thing effectually in parliament, without changing the system which then prevailed.

The king, who desired nothing so much as to be easy, resolved to make a change, dismissed all the privy-council at once, and formed a new one. This was declared on the twenty-first of April, 1679;

1679; and, at the same time, the earl of Shaftesbury was appointed lord-president. He did not hold this new honour longer than six months. He had drawn upon himself the implacable hatred of the duke of York, by steadily promoting, if not originally inventing, the project of an exclusion bill; and therefore no wonder if a party was constantly at work against him.

Upon the king's summoning a parliament to meet at Oxford, on the twenty-first of March, 1681, the earl of Shaftesbury joined with several lords in a petition to prevent its meeting there; which, however, failed of success. He was present at that parliament, and strenuously supported the exclusion bill; but the duke of York, and his friends soon contrived to make him feel the weight of his resentment; for the popish zealots in his interest, who apprehended that, as long as this noble patriot lived, their grand scheme of introducing the Roman catholic religion and arbitrary power into the government of England would not take effect, having failed in various attempts to take him off privately, attempted it publicly, by presenting a bill of indictment against him to the grand jury, at the Old Bailey; but after examining the witnesses in open court, the jury threw out the bill, and he was discharged from his imprisonment in the Tower, where he had been confined from July to November 1682, on this malicious and groundless charge. Great rejoicings were made at his acquittal, and a medal was struck upon the occasion.

His lordship now justly apprehending that his person was not secure in his native country, his bitterest enemies being now in the zenith of their power, he resolved to seek for some place of retirement, where, out of the reach of their endeavours to injure him, he might wear out the small

remainder of his life in peace. It was with this view, that he embarked for Holland soon after his discharge; and arriving safely at Amsterdam, after a very dangerous voyage, he took a house there, proposing to live in a manner suitable to his quality, being visited by persons of the first distinction, and treated with all the deference and respect he could desire: but being seized by his old distemper, the gout, it immediately flew up into his stomach, and soon became mortal; so that he expired on the twenty-second of January, 1683.

His body being embalmed, was brought to England, and interred with his ancestors at Winborne St. Giles; and, in 1732, a noble monument, with an inscription highly to his honour, was erected by the present earl of Shaftesbury.

It was a misfortune to this noble personage, that those who were his professed enemies, have transmitted to posterity, the history of the times in which he lived, and of that government in which he had so large a share; and this may, in some measure, account for his not making so amiable a figure in history; so, that, while his prodigious abilities stand confessed by all, the goodness and integrity of his intentions are hardly acknowledged by any. It is also not to be imagined, at this distance of time, what arts and contrivances were set on foot by his enemies in his life-time, to render his name odious and detestable.

Marchmont Needham, who had been employed by the regicides, and the parliament to vilify the royal family in the most scandalous and barbarous manner, was paid by the ministers, to abuse and defame the earl of Shaftesbury. This he did with great pleasure, in a quarto pamphlet, intitled, “A Pacquet of Advices, and Animadversions, sent from London to the Men of Shaftesbury; which

is of Use for all his Majesty's Subjects in the Three Kingdoms." London, 1676. And, his abuse is transferred, verbatim, into the account given of this noble person by Anthony Wood, the Oxford historian.

The earl of Shaftesbury was also represented as having had the vanity to expect to be chosen king of Poland; and this made way for calling him count Tapsky, alluding to the tap which had been applied upon the breaking out of the ulcer between his ribs when he was lord chancellor. It was also a standing-jest, with the lower form of wits, to stile him Shiftsbury instead of Shaftesbury: his lordship being too much addicted to women; and it is recorded, that king Charles II. who would both take liberties and bear them, once said to the earl at court, in a vein of raillery and good-humour, and in reference only to his amours, "I believe, Shaftesbury, thou art the wickedest fellow in my dominions:" to which, with a low bow, and very grave face, the earl replied, "May it please your majesty, of a subject I believe I am." At which the merry monarch laughed most heartily.

* * *Authorities.* Biog. Britan. Wood's Athen.
Oxon. Hume's Hist. of England.

The LIFE of
ALGERNON SYDNEY.

[A. D. 1622, to 1683.]

Including Memoirs of WILLIAM Lord RUSSELL.

THIS illustrious politician and unfortunate patriot, was the second son of Robert earl of Leicester, by his wife Dorothy, the eldest daughter of Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland. He was born about the year 1622, his noble father gave great attention to his education, even in his early years, and in 1632, when he went ambassador to Denmark, he took his son with him; as also when he was sent in the same capacity to the court of France in 1636; and at that time his lively, acute genius began to display itself, and an active part in life, seeming to be best suited to the bent of his natural disposition, his father, upon being appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, procured him a commission for a troop of horse in his own regiment in 1641. Upon which he repaired to that kingdom, accompanied by his elder brother, Philip lord viscount Lisle, who acted as deputy to his father: the Irish rebellion was then broke out, and Algernon Sydney upon many occasions distinguished himself with great bravery.

In 1643, he had the king's permission to return to England, with his brother lord Lisle, but with express orders to repair without loss of time, to his majesty at Oxford; of which the parliament having intel-

intelligence, they were both taken into custody, upon their landing at some port in Lancashire. The king suspected that they had thrown themselves voluntarily into the hands of his enemies, and expressed his resentment at their behaviour, and the event seemed to justify the king's surmises and displeasure; for, from this time they adhered to the interest of the parliament, and Algernon accepted a captain's commission in the earl of Manchester's regiment of horse in 1644; and in 1645 he was raised to the rank of a colonel of a regiment of cavalry, by general Fairfax.

In a short time, his brother lord Lisle being appointed by the parliament lieutenant general of Ireland, and commander in chief of the parliamentary forces in that kingdom, he served on an expedition there, under his brother, where he performed such signal military exploits, that he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant general of the horse in Ireland, and made governor of Dublin. But the government of the capital being thought too weighty a concern for so young a man, it was taken from him in 1647, and given to colonel Jones, a senior officer. However, upon his return to England, he received the thanks of the house of commons for his good services in Ireland, and a resolution being made that he should receive a suitable recompence, he was soon after made governor of Dover castle. In 1648, he was nominated one of the members of the high court of justice, appointed to try Charles I. but it is certain that he did not act in that capacity, for he neither sat in judgment upon the king, nor does his name appear in the warrant for his execution; yet he was a zealous republican on patriotic principles, and always professed to make Marcus Brutus his model; so that when Cromwell usurped the supreme authority, he

opposed him with great violence ; and could not be prevailed upon to accept of any employment civil or military under either of the protectors.

It is conjectured by some writers, that he absented himself from the trial of CHARLES I. in compliance with his father's request, whose political principles led him to disapprove of that transaction : which his son vindicated afterwards, in a conversation at Copenhagen, by saying " it was the justest action that ever was done in England, or any where else ;" but in justice to this consistent patriot, let us observe, that when the university of Copenhagen brought their *album* to him ; (a book with blank leaves in which they desire learned strangers to write whatever they think proper) Algernon Sydney wrote the following lines, and signed his name to them.

— *Manus hæc inimica tyrannis*
Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem.

From these sentiments compared with the resolute part he acted in the cause of civil liberty, for which he died, we may fairly conclude, that if any well concerted plan had been formed for deposing Oliver Cromwell, or for putting him to death as a just punishment for his usurpation, Sydney would have joined hand and heart in carrying it into execution.

After Richard Cromwell had resigned the protectorship, Sydney really believing that the remnant of the long parliament would establish a republican form of government, most willingly engaged in the administration of public affairs, and in May 1659 was nominated by the parliament to be one of the council of state ; and the following month, he was appointed one of three commission-

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ers who were sent to the Sound, to mediate a peace between the kings of Denmark and Sweden.

Upon the restoration of Charles II. Mr. Sydney was advised by his friends to avail himself of his father's interest with the king, and to get his name inserted in the act of oblivion passed upon that occasion; but he refused it and continued an exile in different parts of Europe seventeen years; his longest residence was at Rome and in its environs, where he received great civilities from persons of the first rank, and was highly esteemed for his courage, wit and learning; tired of paying and receiving visits, and wishing to withdraw himself more from the world, he left Italy, and went to Switzerland, where he staid a short time with general Ludlow, and his other friends and companions in exile. He afterwards went to France; and a story is told of him, while he resided at Paris, which confirms one part of the character given him by bishop Burnet, who describes him in private life, as a man of a boisterous, rough temper, that could not bear contradiction. It is recorded, with great satisfaction, by his admirers, as a proof of his noble spirit, but the sequel will determine, whether it does not rather exhibit a picture of singular pride and morose rudeness. However, after having related it, we shall endeavour to convert it to a better account, than barely to support his character as a man of spirit, which could have been demonstrated by much stronger testimonials, and more to his honour.

It is said, that he was hunting one day with Louis XIV. when that monarch took great notice of a fine English hunter, upon which Mr. Sydney was mounted, and afterwards sent a message to him, to request him to yield it to him, at any price he thought proper to fix upon it. Sydney answered, he did not chuse to part with his horse, upon which

the king unused to such denials, gave peremptory orders to tender him a proper sum of money, and in case of refusal, to seize the horse; Sydney informed of these orders, instantly took a pistol and shot him, saying, in the genuine stile of an English madman, "his horse was born a free creature, had served a free man, and should not be mastered by a king of slaves." If we are to give any credit to this strange anecdote, let it be for the valuable purpose of refuting the charge that has lately been brought against the public character of Algernon Sydney, by an eminent Scotch compiler, who from papers put into his hands, and collated by him with great industry, pretends to prove that Sydney and Russell were traitors to their country, and pensioners to the court of France. Is the language and conduct described in the above anecdote, that of a man, who must at the time, if Sir John Dalrymple's charge is well founded, have been tampering with the very monarch, whom he so grossly insulted? Yet this singular story is as well authenticated as Sir John Dalrymple's papers, adducing proofs that he was a pensioner to the French court: perhaps a candid enquirer will find reason equally to discredit both.

In the year 1677, the earl of Leicester being desirous to see his son Algernon before he died, obtained from the king a special pardon for all past offences, and he returned home at the very critical juncture when the parliament urged the king to a war against France; and as he came last from that country, and now took great pains to dissuade his countrymen from pressing administration to declare war, some shallow politicians conceived him to be in the pay and interest of France: but Sydney had the most laudable motives for giving this advice: he had in fact been a spy upon the secret negotiations

tions of the English ministry and the court of France, and had the most authentic intelligence that a perfect good understanding subsisted between the two crowns, and that all the pretended eagerness of the English ministry to go to war was only calculated to raise large supplies, which were afterwards to be applied to the support of the extravagant expences of the English court: and if any man at this time was in treaty for a pension from France, it was Charles II. himself, who cared little how he came by money, if he had but sufficient to maintain his mistresses, and to keep his favourite courtiers in good humour.

Mr. Sydney's father dying soon after he arrived in England, he was under no further restraint with respect to his political sentiments and conduct, and being unable to suppress his indignation at the duplicity of administration, he was soon noticed by the emissaries of the ministry, and a resolution was taken to compass the ruin of such a formidable adversary; and in this scheme the duke of York's party heartily concurred, for they detested his very name, as ominous to their cause. Great interest was made to keep him out of parliament in 1678, when he stood candidate for Guilford; he lost his election by court influence, and tho' he carried it in the next parliament, a double return was made by the same influence, and it was decided against him in the house.

But not content with this success, it was resolved to sacrifice him and lord William Russell to the safety of a corrupt, venal administration: these illustrious patriots having rendered themselves very obnoxious to the court, by opposing the arbitrary proceedings of the king and his ministers, and by their zeal in promoting the bill for excluding the duke of York from the throne. They were known

to be intimate friends, and it was no secret that they associated with the earl of Shaftesbury, and other malecontents, who frequently met together to consult on the measures proper to be taken to prevent the imminent danger the church and state would be in, from a popish successor: and at these meetings, some persons had gone so far, as to propose exciting insurrections, as no hopes remained of obtaining parliamentary redress for the many grievances the nation laboured under, and on this last circumstance, he was indicted for high treason. Lord William Ruffel was the third, and at the time he was accused, the only surviving son of William the fifth earl, and first duke of Bedford, and in order to strike the greater terror into the opposing party, the court began with him. He had taken an active part in the house of commons against the duke of York and the papists: he had carried up a vote against the latter, for the concurrence of the house of lords: he had presented the exclusion bill to that house, and upon its being thrown out, he made an eloquent speech at the bar of the house of lords, lamenting the conduct of that house, and justifying the lower house, of which he was a member, for passing the bill; and he had joined with other friends to the protestant cause, in presenting reasons to the grand jury of Middlesex for indicting the duke of York as a papist. These were more than sufficient causes for devoting him to destruction; accordingly an opportunity offered soon after the discovery of the real, or pretended Rye-house plot, in June 1683.

This plot is said to have been formed by the presbyterians of the republican party, and by some zealous men of eminence in the church of England, who dreaded the popish succession. The design was to kill, or to seize upon the king, as he passed through

through the inclosures of a farm called *The Ryehouse*, in his way from Newmarket to London, which he usually did to avoid the public road; it is added, that a fire happening at Newmarket, the king returned sooner to London than was expected, and before the conspirators were prepared to execute this base assassination. A proclamation was issued on the 23d of June, for apprehending Rumbold, a maltster, the owner of the farm, and several officers and gentlemen, who were said to be the principal conspirators; and on the 28th lord Howard of Escric, a man of abandoned life and character, pretending to be one of the conspirators, and offering to turn crown evidence, was accepted in that capacity, upon his accusing lord William Ruffel, and promising to make good the charge, whereupon lord Ruffel was apprehended and sent to the Tower. And soon after, the same worthless evidence was prevailed upon to accuse Algernon Sydney, who was likewise taken into custody, by a messenger, and at the same time, one of the clerks of the privy council seized all his papers.

But for the reasons already assigned, lord Ruffel's trial was expedited without delay. It was brought on at the Old Bailey, on the 13th of July; he was indicted of conspiring to excite insurrection and rebellion in the kingdom; of compassing and imagining the death of the king; and of plotting with other traitors to seize his majesty's guards, &c. And so determined were the ministry not to let this victim escape, that the most unjustifiable methods were taken to convict him precipitately. He desired to have his trial put off till the next day, because some material witnesses could not be in town till late at night; this being refused, he requested it might be delayed till the afternoon, which was likewise denied. He challenged the foreman of the jury, but
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in that also he was over-ruled. The only evidences against him were lord Howard, and colonel Rumsey another conspirator, who was pardoned by the king; and the whole of their joint-evidence proved no more, than that lord Russel had walked up and down in a room, in the house of one Shepherd, while some persons held a discourse about seizing the king's guards, but it was not pretended that he either joined company with them, or uttered a single word.

In order to invalidate lord Howard's evidence, the earl of Anglesey deposed on behalf of lord Russel, that about a week before he had met lord Howard, at the duke of Bedford's, where he had declared to the duke, that he knew nothing against his son, or any body else concerned in the plot; and bishop Burnet corroborated the earl of Anglesey's evidence, by declaring, that lord Howard had been with him the night after the plot was discovered, and he did then, as he had done before, with hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, say, "he knew nothing of any plot, nor believed any," and treated it with great scorn and contempt. Mr. Howard, a relation of lord Howard's, related a conversation with lord Howard to the same purport, and added these remarkable words. "If my lord Howard has the same soul on Monday, that he had on Sunday, this cannot be true that he swears against my lord Russel. I am very sorry to hear any man of my name guilty of these things."

It was evident to every impartial person in the court, that the testimony of lord Howard did not deserve the least degree of credit; yet the jury, who were packed for the purpose, brought him in guilty of high treason; and though the most powerful interest was made to save him, it had no effect; for he could not be brought to make an open declaration

claration in favour of the principle of non-resistance, which was what the court wanted from a man of his family and interest; and his firmness in refusing life, on conditions which he could not reconcile to his conscience, determines his character, and gives him rank with the first of patriots. It was part of his political creed, "that a free nation, like England, might defend their religion and liberty, when invaded, or taken from them, though under pretence of colour of law;" and in support of this tenet he suffered death; being beheaded on a scaffold, erected for that purpose, in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, on Saturday 21st of July 1683.

The general outcry against the jury, who had condemned lord Russell on the insufficient and corrupt evidence of lord Howard, made the court more wary in their proceedings against Algernon Sydney, and therefore his trial was delayed till other measures, still more arbitrary and illegal, had been taken to secure his condemnation. But at length their scheme being ripe for execution, he was indicted for high treason, and brought to his trial in the court of King's-bench, before the lord chief justice Jefferies, on the 21st of November, 1683. The three first witnesses against him were, Robert West, colonel Rumsey, and Mr. Keeling, whose evidence amounted only to reports from others. Mr. Sydney justly objected to the illegality of admitting such evidence, but in vain; for the Judge took it down, and delivered it as part of the proofs against him, in summing up the evidence to the jury. Lord Howard then swore positively, that Mr. Sydney was present at two meetings, when schemes had been formed for exciting insurrections against the government; and that he had been concerned in sending one Aaron Smith into Scotland, to engage the disaffected in that country to join the
male-

mal-contents in England; but apprehensive that the jury might not give sufficient credit to the exploded evidence of this worthless nobleman; the attorney-general had recourse to a most shameful expedient, which ought not to have had the least weight with the Jury; this was to produce a passage from his excellent discourses on government, in proof of his design to persuade the people of England to set aside their sovereign, whenever it should appear to them that he had violated the trust with which they themselves had invested him. Thus a general principle, advanced in a political treatise, was construed into a seditious and traiterous libel against the reigning prince, and made part of the evidence in a charge of high treason against the author: no parallel instance can be found in our history of such a perversion of the law of evidence. Mr. Sydney made a short, manly defence, chiefly remonstrating against the unwarrantable step of bringing his writings in evidence against him, and offering the most solid reasons against giving any credit to the testimony of lord Howard; who, since he had been in prison, had called at his house, and told his servant, that he was sorry Mr. Sydney should be brought into danger on account of this plot, and did then swear in the presence of God, lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, that he did not believe in any plot, and that it was but a sham. The earl of Anglesey, lord Clare, lord Paget, Mr. Philip and Mr. Edw. Howard, and Dr. Burnet, again confirmed the declaration that lord Howard had made to them, denying in the most solemn manner his knowledge of any plot, or of any persons concerned in it; but all to no purpose, for the jury being packed, as in the case of lord Russel, he was brought in guilty; and the usual sentence was passed upon him to be hanged, drawn and quartered,

tered, which, as a special favour, was changed to beheading. He suffered on Tower-hill, the 7th of December, 1683, and met death with heroic fortitude. His remains were interred the next day at Penshurst in Kent, among those of his noble ancestors.

He left behind him, "Discourses upon Government." The first edition of which was published in 1698, the second in 1704, in folio. To the second was added the paper he delivered to the sheriffs on the scaffold: but the best edition, is the very elegant one in 4to, published in 1763, at the expence and under the inspection of the late Thomas Hollis, Esq; a gentleman who in a private station rendered himself remarkably useful to his country, by reviving and encouraging public virtue, and patriotic, independent principles. This edition contains his letters, his trial, and some memoirs of his life, not to be found in the former:

Sydney's discourses on government, have been considered by many learned men, as an ample compensation for the loss of Cicero's six books *de republica*; and as they are adapted to the genius of the British constitution, they undoubtedly merit the attention of every studious Englishman.

* * * *Authorities.* General Biog. Dict. Memoirs prefixed to the edition of Sydney's works, by Mr. Hollis.

The

The LIFE of

JAMES BUTLER,
DUKE of ORMOND.

[A. D. 1610, to 1686.]

JAMES BUTLER, the seventh earl, and first duke, of Ormond, was born in 1610, and, at the age of three years, was carried over into Ireland.

In 1619, his father Thomas, eldest son of Walter, earl of Ormond, being drowned in his passage to England, he was called lord James, as heir-apparent of his grandfather. The year afterwards he was brought by his mother to England, and lived, for a short time, with a popish schoolmaster, who bred him in the errors of the Romish church till the accession of king James, who considering him as a ward of the crown, placed him in the house of archbishop Abbot: but his majesty having, at that time, seized upon his grandfather's estate, allowed him only forty pounds a year for the support of himself and his servant; and made the archbishop no allowance for his maintainance or education: which was probably one reason why he was taught nothing.—A neglect which might have deprived the age of one of its greatest ornaments, had not diligence and capacity found means to supply the want of education.

At the age of sixteen he left Lambeth, and lived with his grandfather, who had recovered his liberty and

and a great part of his estate: and being now no longer confined to his former penurious allowance, he engaged in the amusements and diversions of young men, and was particularly delighted with the performances of the theatre; so that most of the eminent players had the honour of his acquaintance: but he did not lose in his diversion that regard to his fortune and interest, which becomes a rational and prudent mind; for seeing the estate of lord Preston, which had been with so much violence forced from the house of Ormond, now wholly devolved to an heiress, he found means of marrying her, and so put an end to the differences which had given so much disturbance to both families, and by which his grandfather had severely suffered.

In 1632, about two years after his marriage, he became, by the death of his grandfather, earl of Ormond; and, being naturally of an active and enterprizing character, soon engaged in public affairs; and by the countenance of the earl of Strafford, then lord-deputy of Ireland, he took an active part in the Irish house of peers.

The regard which the deputy, who was remarkably well qualified to judge of men, always thought proper to shew him, was begun by a very odd occurrence. The animosity in the Irish parliament had risen so high, that there was danger lest their debates should terminate in blood; and lest, as it has been related of popish assemblies, they should appeal from argument to the sword. For this reason, the lord-deputy published a proclamation by which he forbade any man to sit in either house with his sword; a precaution which had been used in former times.

When the lords therefore entered the house, their swords were delivered by them at the door to the usher of the black-rod, who stood ready to receive them;

them; but, when the earl of Ormond was about to enter, he refused to deliver his sword; and told the usher, who, enforced his demand with some rudeness, That, if he had his sword, it should be in his body. The deputy, imagining his authority treated by this refusal, with contempt, sent for the earl, and demanded the reason of his disobedience; but was answered, by being presented with the writ in which he was summoned, as earl of Ormond, to sit in parliament girded with a sword. The deputy had nothing ready to offer as a reply, and the earl therefore was dismissed, not only without censure, but with such esteem of spirit (which was, indeed on this occasion, more conspicuous than his prudence,) that the lord-deputy had him, ever afterwards, in particular esteem; and, when he returned to England, recommended him to the privy-council as one who was likely to prove a great and able servant of the crown.

In 1640, an army being thought necessary to be raised in Ireland, the care of making the levies, and ascertaining their maintainance, from the funds which the parliament had provided, was reposed in the earl of Ormond. This army was to have rendezvouzed at Carrickfergus, and to have been transported from thence to Scotland, but the pacification which soon after followed, prevented the execution of the design.

The next year broke out the terrible and bloody Irish rebellion, made for ever memorable by a rage of cruelty scarcely ever exercised on any other occasion, and which filled that unhappy country, for many years, with slaughter and desolation. The most cruel and furious, though not the ablest leader of this rebellion, was Sir Phelim O'Neil, who opened the horrid scene on the twenty-second of October, the day appointed for the general insurrection, by the seizure

seizure of the castle of Charlemount, a very important fort upon the pass of Blackwater.

The perfidy with which he transacted this first part of his scheme, was a natural prelude to the barbarities which he practised in the prosecution of it. He sent word to the lord Charlemount, who was governor of the fortress, that he would that day be his guest; and an entertainment was accordingly provided; to which, as was not uncommon in those times, great numbers resorted, as to a general festival. Lord Charlemount had one company of soldiers in his garrison; but they not suspecting danger, and being equally inclined with the strangers to pass the day in plenty and merriment, laid aside their arms, and mingled with the company. The table was spread, the guests were gay, and all was jollity and civility till towards evening, when Sir Phelim finding all his accomplices entered, and all dangers of resistance removed, seized upon lord Charlemount, and his family, while his followers murdered or secured the soldiers, and took possession of the castle.

On the same day, many other chieftains raised their septs, and endeavoured to take possession of the towns in their neighbourhood; at some of which they succeeded, and at others were disappointed. They grew however, every day stronger, as they were absolute masters of all that was to be found in the open country, and had therefore sufficient means to tempt the needy peasants to join them. The whole country of Craven was reduced by Philip O'Reily, and seven others by other leaders, in the first week; and Sir Phelim O'Neal had gathered, in the same time, a body of near thirty thousand men; which is a sufficient proof of the Irish to rebel: but is it not likewise a reasonable ground of suspicion, that, since the effect must bear a natural proportion

portion to the cause, they had received some general provocations; that the English had forgotten that industry with which disputed titles ought always to be enjoyed; and, that kindness, with which intruders, however powerful, and however supported, ought always to endeavour to recommend themselves to original inhabitants?

It is apparent that the followers of Phelim O'Neal had, in a short time, learned to take pleasure in cruelty; and not only to murder those who fell into their hands without reluctance, but with meriment and delight: and, so much had he heightened their barbarity, that, if they happened to have no prisoners to destroy, they would amuse themselves with seizing the cattle, not to drive them away or devour them, but to torture them; and would cut off the legs of sheep or oxen, and leave them to expire in lingering agonies. By this stupid cruelty, did they destroy great numbers of the cattle which the death or escape of the owners put into their hands: and by this practice did they, in any interval of human massacre, keep their hearts from learning to relent.

Sir Phelim was so far from endeavouring to repress this rage of cruelty, that he encouraged it by his own example; for, whenever he was accidentally discomposed, his rage always broke out in some horrible and useless act of cruelty. At one time he ordered the lord Charlemount, whom he had seized at Charlemount, to be shot; at another, he massacred great numbers whom he had received, under his own hand, to quarter; and was every day inventing new forms of barbarity, and accumulating one murder upon another.

The accounts which have been generally received of this horrid massacre, are, in many circumstances, very remote from truth. It is asserted, that, at least,

150000

150000 English were destroyed ; and, to aggravate the horror, it is added, that they were all butchered in one day ; but it is certain, that there was no particular day remarkable for bloodshed : and it is probable, that the numbers massacred did not exceed 37000. A dreadful slaughter, which surely needs not to be made more detestable by any exaggerations.

It was upon this occasion that the earl of Ormond received his first military appointment, from Charles I. in an affectionate letter, dated at Edinburgh, in October 1641, desiring him to take upon him the command of the army, in quality of lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces in Ireland.

In consequence of this commission, the earl of Ormond continued to serve the king with all the zeal that bravery and fidelity could inspire, though not with the success which might have been expected from him, had he been at liberty to form his own measures, and to lay hold of those advantages which, whenever his own diligence had procured them, the delays of the lords justices compelled him to lose ; and, in the mean time, he was forced to struggle with numberless calumnies, which his loyalty to the king probably drew upon him ; for, at this time, the prevailing party in England began to set their sovereign at open defiance, and to charge him, amongst other attempts against the constitution and religion of the nation, with the crime of having encouraged the rebellion and massacre of Ireland.

The earl of Ormond, however, having defeated the rebels at Kilrush, and distinguished himself by many other actions as a general and subject, the king, since his affairs were at that time in such a situation that he had nothing but honours to bestow, thought it proper to distinguish him by a higher
2 title ;

title; and therefore, in 1642, created him marquis of Ormond.

About the same time, a controversy between him and the earl of Leicester, then lord lieutenant, was decided in such a manner as gave him power to dispose, while the lord lieutenant was absent, of all the posts that should become vacant in the army: by which his interest was increased, and his authority confirmed; as the soldiers had no means of obtaining preferment but by gaining the approbation of their general: but this new dignity conferred no strength, and he was only exposed to the mortification of seeing himself unable to return the regard which had been shewn him by his master, by any important service; which he had every day less hopes of effecting, as the parliament declared more openly against the king. Some forces were indeed sent, but under commanders who rather hindered than promoted the suppression of the rebels; for, by plundering all indiscriminately, they weakened those most who were least able to bear new losses; by disregarding all those who acted by the king's authority, they destroyed the union which was necessary to success; and, by treating the whole kingdom with unreasonable severity, they encouraged the opinion, that nothing less than extirpation was intended; and therefore added to the ardour of resentment, the fury of despair.

In the spring of the year 1643, it was thought necessary to send the army into the field, and an expedition was intended for the conquest of Rose and Wexford. The marquis of Ormond set out therefore with his forces, and came before Rose on the 12th of March; and would soon have been able to take it, being at first but weakly garrisoned, had not the justices neglected to send him, not only ammunition, but victuals for his soldiers; all which
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being to be transported by sea, were so negligently provided, that the wind, which was for many days favourable, altered before the vessel was ready for the voyage; and the army, instead of annoying the enemy, had no care so pressing as that of procuring bread: so that in these circumstances it was found necessary to draw off the army from before the place, and by the appearance of a retreat, to induce the enemy to sally out, and come to an engagement; this stratagem succeeded, and the rebel army was defeated; and the marquis being master of the open country supplied his army with plenty of provisions.

But the distress and poverty of the army was the same after the victory as before it; for, though the country furnished them with provisions sufficient for a retreat, yet, being naked and exhausted, it would not supply any stores for a longer support, and therefore they returned to Dublin, where they found the same distress; and where they were again to represent, to remonstrate, to petition, and to starve. The justices were unwilling that the king should receive any information of the state of the nation, or of the army; and therefore the marquis of Ormond, who was not equally inclined to make his sovereign contemptible, sent, without their concurrence, such a narrative as was concerted by him with several of the privy-council.

This, with other accounts which had been transmitted, had such an effect, that Sir William Parsons was at length removed from his office of lord justice, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Tichbourne, who had more affection for the king's service. But the change of one of the governors, though it might set the marquis free from some embarrassments, could contribute very little to the support of the army, whose necessities grew every day more pressing, and
whose

whose hopes of relief became more distant; for the Papists enlarged their quarters on every side.

Distress thus hourly increasing, and the enemy, though they were often driven out of the field, yet returning to it with greater numbers, it was at length thought convenient by the king, that a cessation of arms should be proposed; and a commission to treat was sent to the marquis of Ormond, who approved of the measure, but knew not how to set it on foot without inconvenience or disgrace to his sovereign.

It was necessary, to the king's honour, that the first offer should be made by the rebels; and it was likewise proper, that the council should own, in some solemn manner, their conviction of the impracticability of establishing the peace of the nation by any other means.

In order to procure the first overtures from the Irish, agents were employed who, after long deliberation, prevailed upon them to propose a cessation for twelve months; and, that the justices might have no pretences that a negotiation of such importance was set on foot, either without their concurrence, or in opposition to their advice, the marquis first demanded, in a full council, Whether any man could offer a proposal more honourable for the king, or more advantageous to the nation, than that of a cessation? None had any thing to offer, or could give information of any measures that had a probable appearance of success; and therefore a cessation was necessarily to be admitted as the only resource then remaining. The marquis was willing, however, that no possibility of suspicion should be left, that might subject this part of his conduct to the imputation of cowardice, or an inclination to gratify the rebels by concessions
which

which might have been avoided ; and therefore, to put a stop for ever to all such insinuations, he made an offer, That, if the justices and council, who were best acquainted with the condition of the state, could procure only ten thousand pounds, half in money, and half in ammunition and provisions, he would still prosecute the war, and endeavour to enlarge his quarters.

Upon this proposal, the mayor of Dublin, and some of the most wealthy citizens, were required to attend, and consult by what means such a supply could be procured : but they declared their opinion, that no such levy could be made ; and, that the country was too much exhausted to be able to give any further assistance for its own preservation. The marquis was therefore at full liberty to pursue his own measures, and proceed to negotiate a cessation.

The rebels were fully sensible of their own superiority, and were therefore not easily to be persuaded to such terms as it was fit to allow them.

About this time, arrived likewise a commissioner from the pope, with a supply of money, and with stores of war. These added great weight to the influence which his holiness exerted in opposing the cessation : but there were in the army of the Papists, men of great rank and reputation, who still retained their duty to the king, and who wished, with the utmost ardour, to put a stop to the desolations of their country. These men struggled very earnestly for the cessation, and by their means it was at last concluded.

The articles were not ratified till September ; and in the mean time, the Irish had not only gathered in the harvest almost without interruption, but had frequently adventured by night into the English quarters, and reaped the corn, and carried it away : so that the only just complaint that could be made against the cessation, was, that it was too long de-

layed; but that delay was unavoidable, where so many men of different interests, opinions, and inclinations, were to be consulted.

This cessation, however, while it hurt only the Papists, whose union it broke, and whose ardour it relaxed, was represented by the enemies of the marquis, and of the king, as an unseasonable concession; and loud clamours were raised, as if the protestant interest had been betrayed, and the nation given up by treaty.

Yet these complaints had no weight with his majesty, and the influence, fidelity, and diligence of the marquis of Ormond became so conspicuous, that he thought it necessary to confer upon him the lieutenancy of the kingdom; and he soon afterwards received the sword of state, and entered upon his office; not, indeed, with much hope of serving his king, or of remedying many of the disorders. They had proceeded too far to give way to a government which was without any force to support it; which only a very small district professed to obey; and which had no advantage, but that of its legality. He had therefore this only comfort, that, tho' he could not do much, he could yet do more than any other man; and, that what authority was yet maintained by his sovereign in Ireland, was the consequence of the reputation and influence of the lieutenant.

In the beginning of his lieutenancy, he was embarrassed with many difficulties. He was to endeavour to retain all, without having the means of recompensing any; and to command without the power of compulsion. There were few who thought their duty of so much importance as to be preferable to their interest; and undoubtedly many, if they were inclined to the right, were, in the distraction of opposite motives, unable to determine their own choice.

In the midst of these perplexing disturbances, it was hoped that he might send some assistance to the Royalists; but armies could not be enlisted, nor transported, without pay and provision; and he was unprovided with money.

The Irish, during the cessation, by which some desires of a fixed and lasting peace could not but be excited, sent commissioners to Oxford to treat with the king; but, at first, proposed conditions which could not, without reproach, be made the foundation of a treaty; and on which; therefore, no conference was allowed. They soon discovered that they had required more than could be granted; and therefore, in a few days, moderated their demands, insisting only on the abrogation of the penal laws against recusants; the right of enjoying posts and offices in the government; the exclusion from the parliament, of all persons who had not estates in the kingdom of Ireland; and a general act of oblivion which should secure both person and estate.

To these, several other propositions were added, of less importance, or less extensive in their consequences: upon which the treaty of peace was wholly referred to the marquis of Ormond, who was more acquainted than the court, with the condition of Ireland; and whose personal influence over many of the commissioners might enable him to reason with more immediate reference to their particular opinions and designs, and to suggest motives more likely to operate upon their minds than general arguments.

In short, many cogent reasons concurred for throwing the burthen of this treaty upon the lord lieutenant; but most of the arguments which inclined the council at Oxford to chuse him for the task, were of equal weight to determine him against the undertaking; therefore he intreated the king's permission to lay down the sword, that the direction

of the affairs of Ireland might be committed to some person more equal to the burthen.

But before any answer could arrive to this request, the peace was concluded, without any concessions disadvantageous to the protestant religion, or derogatory from the honour of the king. Upon this the marquis, in order to promote the king's interest, and reconcile the confederate Irish, marched with a small force to Kilkenny, where he was received with respect, by the supreme council, as governor of the kingdom; and from thence he proceeded to the remoter parts of the island; but he had not gone far before he received intelligence of a design laid by O'Neil to surprize him, and to force him to consent to a new peace upon other terms. O'Neil was to be assisted by Preston; and both were endeavouring, in the most secret manner, to direct the march of their forces, so as to intercept the lieutenant in his progress.

Of this design he received such accounts as he could not distrust, and therefore returned to Dublin with the utmost caution and expedition; his waggons being plundered at Kilkenny, and his plate, and other things of value, taken away.

The pope's nuncio then in Ireland, now found himself master of the field; and, that his designs might be no longer obstructed, he led his army to Kilkenny, and imprisoned the supreme council, which he had found not sufficiently disposed to comply with his proposals.

That the government might be carried on, he summoned an assembly of the clergy, who invested themselves with the authority which they had taken from the council, and assumed the unlimited direction of temporal as well as spiritual affairs. They were now at the height of prosperity, and endeavouring to extend their authority to the utmost boundaries of the kingdom, and determined to put an end to
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the lieutenant's authority, they ordered their forces to besiege Dublin.

The two bodies of men under O'Neil and Preston, did not wholly trust, or very diligently assist each other; and there was some prospect of a treaty with Preston for a union with the lord-lieutenant against O'Neil; but Preston was so unsteady, and the Irish confederates had so little fidelity, that nothing was to be trusted to their honour or their oaths; and therefore the marquis would not put the last remains of the protestant power into their hands; but resolved to sustain a siege in Dublin, which he had fortified and provided as well as he could; the marchioness and other ladies having, to encourage the workmen and inhabitants, carried baskets of mould to form the trenches.

But, though fortifications might be built, provisions could not be procured in an exhausted country; and therefore his enemies, who were well acquainted with his distress, had nothing more to do but to prevent the importation of supplies, and this they effected, so that he must have submitted at discretion, if he had not delivered up the city, and his commission to the deputies and the army sent from the parliament of England; to whom, the king had informed him, that he desired the kingdom should, when it could be kept no longer, be resigned, rather than to the Irish.

When the commissioners, who were dispatched to treat with him for the surrender of the city, and of his authority, arrived at Dublin, they likewise were inclined to impose such conditions upon him, as the distress to which they saw him reduced might oblige him to accept. But these he thought inconsistent with his honour and his duty, and therefore rejected their offers, and suffered them to depart without any agreement: but his distresses every day

increasing, and the inhabitants of the place growing discontented, he was at last constrained to yield on such terms as he could obtain; and, in July, 1647, he resigned his authority, and departed from the kingdom which he had defended with so much fidelity, and governed with so much wisdom.

The confederate Irish durst no longer continue the siege, but retired when the new garrison was admitted, and returned into the country, where it was now necessary for them to unite against a more furious and potent enemy.

Those that had adhered to the king and the marquis, were now without any advantage from their loyalty, being equally hated and suspected on every side. When the marquis left Dublin in this forlorn and calamitous condition, he could not forbear declaring, with that cheerfulness which has been usually known to accompany great minds, that he expected some time or other, to return in a state of power and prosperity of which there was not, at that time, any prospect; for the king was in the hands of his most implacable enemies, all his forces were suppressed, and all his garrisons surrendered.

The marquis, however, whose ardour for the service of his master did not depend upon fortune, went to attend him at Hampton-court.

Here the marquis was admitted to that confidence which fidelity so long tried might justly expect; and, when he offered to resign the lieutenancy, in which he had been able to effect so little, was told by the king, that he should keep his commission to a time of better fortune; for that no other should have the satisfaction of enjoying that authority which he had used so well, tho' so unsuccessfully.

The lord lieutenant then gave him an account of the state of Ireland, and of his own conduct in a long memorial.

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He had now the satisfaction to find that his endeavours, however unprosperous, were well accepted, and that he still retained the favour of his sovereign, but he was by no means in a state of happiness or safety ; for he was not only afflicted with the misfortunes of his master, who was then visibly losing the little influence and respect which his character had hitherto enabled him to retain, even among those who now had him in their power ; but he was likewise himself harrassed with personal difficulties ; the debts which he had contracted for the public service being now demanded.

Indeed he had, by his capitulation, six months to liquidate them ; but this term being very near expired, he made his apprehensions of them the pretext for going off privately ; though the real motives were an order from the committee at Derby-house, dated in February, 1648, requiring him to send them, upon his parole of honour, and under his own hand, an assurance that he would not, during his residence in England, do any thing prejudicial to the parliament ; and he had no inclination to be served with this order. He was also sensible they were grown jealous of him, and wanted a pretence to seize upon his person, for which he had been advised a warrant was actually issued.

It was therefore prudent to provide for his sovereign's interests, by securing his own liberty ; and crossing the country from Acton, about ten miles distant from Bristol, where he had fixed his residence, the better to carry on the correspondence he had entered into with the lord Inchiquin, he took shipping at Hastings, in Suffex, landed at Diepe, and went to pay his duty to the queen and the prince at Paris ; where he corresponded with the earls of Loudon, Lauderdale, and Lanerick, in Scotland, by the means of Sir John Hamilton ; and, by the intervention of colonel John Barry, he

kept up, in Ireland, the correspondence he had before settled with lord Inchiquin.

The marquis had not been long at Paris before agents, deputed by the general assembly, arrived there, from Ireland, to the queen and the prince, to treat of a peace, as the only expedient to save the kingdom. The marquis was consulted, and gave his opinion on the demands they brought, and the method necessary to be followed to promote his majesty's interest.

The marquis's return to Ireland being judged the only method that could be taken to save the kingdom, this made him very importunate with the French court for the necessary supplies; but he was long delayed, and, at length, put off with such a trifling sum, that it was consumed in necessities for the voyage and the subsistence of his attendants before he could get his dispatches from St. Germain and embark for Ireland. However, he arrived in that kingdom, where he was impatiently expected by Inchiquin, landing at Cork in September, 1648, with no more than thirty French pistoles for his military chest.

The marquis had now no power but from the queen and the prince to conclude a peace with the Irish; but this, however, he got ratified by the king, then a prisoner in the Isle of Wight; and with this ratification, which was by letter only, he received his majesty's commands to disobey all public orders, which he should give him, while under restraint.

The uniting Ireland in his majesty's interests was the only visible means to save his life, and the only proposed end of the marquis's return to that kingdom. With this view he published a declaration, in October, in which he mentions his having delivered up Dublin to the parliament, with his reasons for so doing.

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The marquis, though unassisted, entered upon the treaty of peace with the confederates, and, after having, with indefatigable zeal, unwearied diligence, labour, and exemplary, steady loyalty, surmounted many difficulties, it was at length concluded, a few days before the death of Charles I.

His next care was to proclaim Charles II. in all the towns which remained subject to the royal authority; after which he wrote to the new king, then at the Hague, earnestly intreating him to strengthen his interest in Ireland by his presence.

His majesty, convinced by the strength of his excellency's arguments, resolved upon following his advice, and passing over into Ireland; but was frustrated in his design by the Scotch commissioners, who were sent from the convention in Scotland to him in Holland, and by the deputies of the states, who warmly espoused their cause.

The marquis, thus left alone to struggle with innumerable difficulties, was not, however, discouraged; his spirits seemed to rise in proportion to the difficulties he had to encounter; for, with a small army, without money, without provisions, but not without disgusts among themselves, not entirely to be depended upon, and at the same time advised of a design to assassinate him, he meditated a design upon Dublin, which might have been easily carried, had others been equally vigilant, diligent, and zealous for his majesty's service. The taking of this city would undoubtedly have occasioned the reduction of the whole kingdom.

But Cromwell, himself arrived at Dublin at this juncture with a powerful army and well provided with money and provisions, which concurring with the death of O'Neile, whom he had brought over to the king's party, obliged the marquis to raise the siege, and the king being gone to Scotland, he had no longer the least hopes of success, and consequent-

ly his longer stay in Ireland could not be of any service to his majesty's interest, but by preventing the different parties from making terms with the enemy, or by covering his majesty's designs to attack England with a Scottish army, by causing some diversion in Ireland.

These considerations were, however, sufficient to prevail on him not to quit the kingdom till it was absolutely impossible for him to keep it in obedience to his majesty. His last effort for the king's service was the calling a general assembly at Loughrea, in which he acquainted them with his design of departing, requiring them to consider on the most probable means of preserving the kingdom from utter ruin; and now having obtained the king's permission to leave the kingdom, he embarked for France and landed at Perose, in Basse Bretagne, in January, 1651.

The marquis afterwards attended his majesty at Paris, till the treaty between the court of France and Cromwell made the king's departure from that kingdom indispensibly necessary: he then retired with him to Bruges in Flanders, where a treaty being set on foot between Charles and the court of Spain; in resentment for Cromwell's taking Jamaica; it was proposed that some person of credit should be sent to England to sound the disposition of the people upon the subject of the restoration, which was to be attempted by a Spanish army.

The marquis, in this exigence, generously offered to go to England in disguise, and act in the manner that should be most conducive to his majesty's interest, either as a chief or as a subaltern which was, with some reluctance, accepted by the king. He accordingly went to England, but soon was convinced, that all hopes from the cavaliers were built upon a sandy foundation.

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The king, disgusted with the Spanish ministers, soon after withdrew from Brussels to the Hague. And here, the marquis, to forward his royal master's interest, which he hoped by these means to strengthen, consented to a marriage between his son Thomas, earl of Offory, and Emilia, daughter of Lewis of Nassau, lord of Beverweert, natural son of Maurice, prince of Orange. The marquis of Ormond remained in Holland with the king, and came to England with him at the restoration, when he was sworn a member of the privy-council, made lord steward of the household, lord-lieutenant of Somersetshire; high-steward of Westminster, Kingston, and Bristol; and was restored to his dignity of chancellor of the university of Dublin.

His majesty gave back to him the county of Tipperary, together with the same privileges which his family had, for some centuries, enjoyed. He was, after this, created earl of Brecknock, and baron of Lanthony, in England; and, by act of parliament, restored to his whole estate.

Soon after the restoration, he found means to do a considerable and acceptable service to the English families in Ireland, by preventing the insertion of some clauses in the act of indemnity, which must have proved their ruin.

The king, in consideration of the marquis's services, made him very liberal grants; and in February 1661, he was joined with the duke of Albermarle, and others, in a commission to determine the claims usually entered at coronations, preparations being at that time making for the king's. In March, he was created duke of Ormond; and, about that time, being also made lord high steward of England, he assisted in that capacity at the coronation.

In the grand affair of the settlement of Ireland, the duke was inclined to do all possible service to the Irish; but, as they not only rejected his advice, but even

even traduced his character, he resolved not to intermeddle in that affair, and his name appeared not in any one committee to which it was referred, till after he was lord-lieutenant; which employment he accepted, when the duke of Albermarle had declined it, on account of the jarring interests of the different parties. It was the duke of Ormond's entire submission to the will of his master, which prevailed with him to enter upon an employment, the inconveniencies of which he well foresaw; for, he speaking of it to a friend, said, "Besides many other unpleasant difficulties, there are two disadvantages proper to me; one of the contending parties believing I owe them more kindness and protection than I can find myself chargeable with; and the others suspecting I retain that prejudice to them which I am as free from. This temper in them will be attended with clamour and scandal, upon my most equal and wary deportment."

Four days after the duke of Ormond was declared lord lieutenant, the agents of the parliament of Ireland had an audience of the king; when the bishop of Elphin, in the name of the lords, expressed their joy at the nomination of a person of whom his lordship gave the highest encomiums, and under whose conduct, he said, the kingdom of Ireland could not but speedily flourish. Sir A. Mervin, in the name of the commons, also gave his majesty thanks for having named the duke to be lord lieutenant; and the news was received in Ireland with public rejoicings.

The parliament of Ireland, in 1662, considering the great losses the duke had sustained by his services to the crown, and the expence which his grace must necessarily fall into, to support the dignity of his office, made him a present of thirty thousand pounds.

The king's marriage deferred the duke's departure for Ireland, to the beginning of July, when he

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set out from London, and arrived in Dublin the latter end of that month, where he was splendidly received. And now all things relating to the government devolving upon him, what he had foreseen was soon verified; for, though he acted with the strictest integrity and impartiality, yet he could not avoid the resentment of numbers, who applied to him for what he could not grant consistent with his duty. Whence arose new clamours, and his administration was not only rendered uneasy to him, but the course of his majesty's affairs was interrupted.

An act of settlement, and some others, were passed in September, when his grace made an excellent speech, well adapted to promote a mutual confidence and a perfect harmony, between the king and his subjects; which the two houses desired might be printed.

One of the first things to which the duke applied himself, was the purging the army by disbanding the disaffected. The Exchequer being empty, he paid their arrears out of his own pocket, as it was a service which admitted no delay.

The republican party in England, who meditated a new commonwealth, flattered themselves with the assistance of these forces, and with the concurrence of the Presbyterians, discontented by the act of uniformity; and the resolution of the parliament to support that act, put the sectaries upon making an insurrection, hoping strength from Scotland, but more from Ireland, to support their attempts. Many of the Irish were, by the court of claims, to be repossessed of their estates; which making the soldiers adventurers, every one for himself, by the fear of being thrust out of the lands they enjoyed, occasioned great clamours against the proceedings of that court, and the designs of the government; and some of the most furious spirits resolving to keep by the sword
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what estates they enjoyed, readily engaged with that party.

An insurrection was intended, a conspiracy formed, and a private committee appointed for conducting the affair; but the whole was discovered to the duke. Blood, who afterwards stole the crown from the jewel-office in the tower, was one of the committee. But, notwithstanding this intelligence, the duke owed his preservation to his own vigilance; for the day pitched upon to seize him and surprize the castle was the tenth of March, of which he had notice; but the conspirators altering the time, and fixing it on the fifth, his informer was ignorant of the change till near the hour of its designed execution. The duke, however, was on his guard; of which the traitors having some information, the attempt was not made. Some of them fled, and others were taken.

In the year 1670, the duke's unalterable zeal for his majesty's service, induced him to protect the Irish Remonstrants. These were the Catholics who opposed the violences of the pope's nuncio; but the Anti-remonstrants prevailing by the support of the English ministry, that which the duke had offered others, was the ground of a general hatred which the Irish Roman-catholics bore to his grace.

In the year 1677, the duke of Ormond was for the third time, declared lord lieutenant of Ireland. He was received by the university with all possible demonstrations of respect and esteem and with very great ceremony by the earl of Essex, who was to resign the sword to him. Soon after his arrival, he laid the foundation of the hospital for soldiers; erected Charles fort, to secure the harbour of Kinsale; and employed the greatest part of his time in detecting frauds in the revenue; which, as also the forces of the kingdom, he considerably augmented for the security thereof.

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His majesty, at this time thinking to gain over his enemies, took the method to make them more formidable, by putting them into posts of power and credit; to which end he desired the duke to resign his post of lord steward of the household. The account of the popish plot being sent to his grace, with its extending to Ireland, and a design upon his own life, occasioned his issuing proclamations necessary for the security of that kingdom, and taking other proper methods to that end. Though the duke used very necessary precautions to prevent the threatened commotions, yet his moderation not agreeing with more violent tempers, a design of assassinating his grace was strongly rumoured, and letters to that purpose dropt in the streets, in hopes that his own security might push him on to severities; but his firmness of mind was not to be shaken; and he made use of no harsher means than what were necessary, had the imaginary danger been real; except against Tories, or common robbers and murderers, in the persons of their relations, who protected or concealed them.

The lord Shaftesbury (to whose views the duke, in retaining the government of Ireland was a main obstacle) in a speech in the house of peers, insinuated that his grace was popishly inclined. This attack from him made the duke's friends apprehend farther designs against him, and give him their advice to come to England. He accordingly wrote to Mr. secretary Coventry for his majesty's permission; but the answer his majesty gave, was, He had one of his kingdoms in good hands, and was resolved to keep it so. It was, however reported, that the duke was to be removed; and lord Arlington asked his majesty, If such a report was true? he answered, It was a damned lie; and, that he was satisfied while he, the duke of Ormond, was there, that kingdom was safe.

The king, convinced, to demonstration, of the design of setting up a commonwealth a second time, resolving to exert himself, would have brought lord Shaftesbury to his trial; but the grand jury refused to find the bill against the strongest evidence.

This partiality however, answered the king's views, by opening the eyes of the people; which was so fatal to the Republicans that they could never recover the blow. His majesty's resolution to assert his authority, extricated him out of all his difficulties, and lessened those under which the duke had long struggled; for as the ferment abated in England, the people's minds were quieted in Ireland; where, all being hushed into a calm, his grace had an opportunity, the king having sent for him, to come to England, leaving his son, the earl of Aran, lord-deputy.

He received the compliments of, and presents from, every town through which he passed from Chester to London; into which he was ushered by a great number of persons of distinction. In his entry he was attended by twenty seven coaches and six, three hundred gentlemen on horseback, five of the king's trumpets, the serjeant-trumpet, and a kettle drum. At court he met with an affectionate reception from his majesty, and was immediately sworn of the privy council; and soon after created an English duke.

The king's affairs being so well established in England, that there was not any necessity for his grace's absence from his government, after two years stay at court, he received orders, in June, to return to Ireland, but his departure was retarded till August, by the death of his duchess.

No sooner had he left London, but he was attacked on some suggestions from colonel Talbot; who made such a report to the king, that a general re-

formation

formation in the council, magistracy, and army of Ireland, was determined; and his grace, on the fifth of September, had a hint from Sir Robert Southwell of his removal. In October, the king intimated his pleasure on this head, and of lord Rochester's succeeding to his post.

On the 6th of February, 1684, king Charles II. died; and the duke, four days after, being sent for, left Dublin to proceed to England, having first caused James II. to be proclaimed; and, as ordered, laid down his office; which was a treatment he had little reason to expect, and an indignity the late king would not have put upon him.

He set out for England, and on the road met the news of his regiment of horse being given to colonel Talbot; but, notwithstanding these affronts from court, he was, when near London, met by numbers of coaches, and received at his house by a multitude and loud acclamations. He was continued lord-steward of the household, and at the coronation again carried the crown.

The lord Clarendon succeeded to the lieutenancy of Ireland; but, after a year, was recalled to make way for colonel Talbot, created earl of Tyrconnel, who made great changes both in the civil and military establishment; and the duke lost his regiment of foot; though he kept his regiment of horse, which he had purchased fifty years before; and this was the only military employment he held.

In February, 1686, the duke retired for some weeks to Cornbury, in Oxfordshire, a seat lord Clarendon had lent him; and, in August he attended his majesty in his progress as far as Bristol. He after this withstood the first instance of his majesty's exercising a dispensing power; and, when the king felt his pulse on the design of abolishing the penal laws, he

he found him unalterably steady in his aversion to what he foresaw would be contrary to his majesty's interest, though it might flatter his inclinations.

The duke being laid up with the gout at Badminton, had the honour of two visits from the king, in going from Bath to Chester, and on his return. He permitted his grace to retire, and dispensed with his attendance at court, as lord-steward; from which he would not remove him. His grace removed from Badminton, and hired a seat in Dorsetshire called Kingston-hall, where he died on the twenty-first of July 1686, and on the fourth of August, his corpse was deposited in Westminster-abbey.

* * *Authorities.* Rapin's History of England. Salmon's Chronological Historian. Leland's Hist. of Ireland. Clarendon's History of the great Rebellion. Biog. Britannica.

The LIFE of
GEORGE VILLIERS, the Younger,
Second Duke of BUCKINGHAM of that Name.

[A. D. 1627, to 1688.]

THIS accomplished courtier having had the chief direction of public affairs for a short time under Charles II. intitles him to a place in the class

class of public characters who flourished at this æra though he was more distinguished for his literary, than his political abilities; and if it would not have made a chasm in the annals of this reign, he might have ranked with the poets in the supplement.

He was the son and heir of that unfortunate statesman and favourite, the first duke of Buckingham of the name, whose life the reader will find in vol. III. He was born at Wallingford-house in Westminster, in 1627, and was little more than sixteen months old, when his father was assassinated: "from whom, says Mr. Brian Fairfax, one of the writers of his life, he inherited the greatest title, as he did from his mother, the greatest estate of any subject in England; and from them both, so graceful a body, as gave lustre to the ornaments of his mind." He was educated for some years by private tutors at home, under the direction of the duchess his mother, and at a proper age, he was sent with his younger brother, lord Francis Villiers, to Trinity-college, Cambridge. It is not certain how long he remained at the University, before he went upon his travels into foreign parts; it is only ascertained, that he did not return to England till after the commencement of the civil war, when he and his brother repaired to Charles I. at Oxford, and distinguished themselves soon after, by their zeal and activity in the royal cause, particularly in storming of the close at Litchfield; for which the parliament seized on their estates, but restored them again in consideration of their youth. In 1648, the noble youths appeared again in arms against the parliament, under the standard of the earl of Holland, and general Fairfax himself being sent out against the earl, engaged him near Kingston in Surry, and lord Francis Villiers having his horse slain under him in the action, placed himself against an oak tree in the high

high way, where he valiantly defended himself with his sword, scorning to ask quarter, till he received nine wounds in his face and body, and thus gallantly fell a victim to loyalty, in the twentieth year of his age.

The duke after the loss of his brother, escaped with great difficulty, to St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire, as did the earl of Holland, who was there taken and beheaded. The next morning, the duke finding, that the house wherein he lay was surrounded and a troop of horse drawn up before the gate, had just time to mount himself and his servants, and then ordering the gates to be thrown open, he resolutely charged the enemy, slew the commanding officer, and fought his way through the corps; after which he effected his escape to the sea coast, and found means to join the prince of Wales, who lay in the Downs with the ships that had deserted from the earl of Warwick. The parliament now required him to surrender in the space of forty days, which the duke refusing, his estate was confiscated, amounting to 25000*l.* per annum. After this, he retired to Holland, and subsisted for some time, on the produce of the sale of his pictures at Antwerp, which were part of the valuable collection purchased by his father in Italy, through the friendly assistance of Sir Henry Wotton, and other English gentlemen, who were travelling, or resided in that country at the time. This costly collection adorned York house in London, to the admiration of all men of judgment in pictures; and they were secretly conveyed to the duke, by John Traylman, a trusty old servant, who had the care of that house.

In 1651, the duke of Buckingham, who had attended Charles II. in his expedition to Scotland, fought by his side at the battle of Worcester, with signal bravery, which ought to be remembered to his

his honour, because he had taken a disgust at the king's refusal before the battle, to take the command of the army from the Scottish general, and to bestow it on him, alledging that it would not be consistent with the dignity of a british peer to act under his orders. Far otherwise has been the behaviour of some English officers in more modern times, who rather than receive the orders of a foreign general, have neglected to gain a complete victory over the natural enemies of their country. After the loss of the day, the duke had the good fortune once more to escape from the enemy, too busily engaged in the plunder of the royal camp, in the disguise of a labourer, and after various distressful adventures in the north of England, to get safe to London, and from thence to Holland, where he was at first mistaken for the king, who soon after with still more difficulty got to France, where the duke joined him.

Charles, in recompence for his faithful services, had made the duke a knight of the garter, and he was always glad to see him at court, but the duke saw no great prospect of promotion, in case of a restoration, for the earl of Clarendon and some other persons of distinction about the king, had conceived a great dislike to him; he therefore about this time, took some very extraordinary steps, which alarmed the cavaliers. He entered himself a volunteer in the French army, and greatly signalized himself at the sieges of *Arras* and *Valenciennes*; and his military reputation being now thoroughly established, his conduct being highly extolled by the French officers, the next thing he did, was to go over privately to England, where he paid his addresses to general Fairfax's daughter, whom he married with her father's consent. Though this was a match of interest, the parliament having given the greatest part
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of the duke's estate to Fairfax, yet it was considered by the cavaliers as an open desertion of the royal cause: yet on the other hand, Cromwell was so displeased at this alliance, that he sent the duke to the tower, which so provoked the general, that it occasioned a quarrel between him and the protector, whose death soon after put an end to the contest; the duke of Buckingham however remained a kind of state prisoner at Windsor castle, till after the resignation of Richard Cromwell, when he was set at liberty.

Nothing can be a greater proof of the extraordinary address of this professed courtier, than his making himself equally acceptable to the rigid, devout Fairfax, and to that dissolute, immoral prince, Charles II. Upon his enlargement, he retired to his father-in-law's house at Appleton: where the old general, then lord Fairfax, received him with open arms, and here he resided with his wife, till the restoration, lord Fairfax continuing to be highly pleased with his company, and with his conformity to the sober regulations of his family.

Soon after the restoration, the duke's whole estate was restored to him, which enabled him to appear with great splendour at the coronation, and he rendered himself popular by his hospitality; but being obliged to give entertainment to several young French noblemen, in return for the civilities he had received in France, they induced him to game, and he had such bad success, that his estate would soon have been considerably diminished, if he had not taken a sudden resolution not to play any more, which it is said he adhered to, even amidst all his other dissipations, ever after.

The duke's advancement at court after the restoration, was impeded as much as possible, by the earl
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of Clarendon, and the duke of Ormond, his sworn foes; at first he was only made one of the lords of the bedchamber, and sworn of the privy council; he then got the appointment of lord lieutenant of Yorkshire, and at length that of master of the horse. But it does not appear, that he had any distinguished abilities as a politician; on the contrary it is said, that he had neither wisdom, prudence nor steadiness, and that he could not possibly have been of the least service to any court, but that of Charles II. in which humour, buffoonery, obscenity and immorality, were the characteristics of the monarch and his chief favourites. Buckingham possessed the talent of mimicry in a high degree, and that first of debauchees Rochester joining his pernicious talents to those of the duke, these inseparable companions cheated the king of his most grave and able counsellors and servants. But both of them at times, though in different ways, grew mischievous as well as witty, and incurred the king's displeasure. Rochester's tricks were of too low and trivial a nature to be recorded in history, they occupy a fitter place at the head of his obscene poems; but the duke of Buckingham's misconduct was of a public nature, and if probably inquired into, would probably have been found to be no less than treason to his king and country. For he was accused of maintaining a secret correspondence with the French; and likewise with disaffected and discontented persons, to whom he wrote letters which had a tendency to excite sedition, and this being discovered, and laid before the king in council in 1666, he withdrew from court, and thereupon he was dismissed from all his employments. The serjeant at arms was likewise sent to his house to take him into custody, but he defended it by force, till he found means to escape: upon which
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a proclamation was issued, requiring him to surrender by a certain day, but he lay concealed above a year, till he had felt the pulse of the good-natured king by the agency of his friends and spies, and then upon his submission, the charge of treason was dropped, he was restored to his place at the council board, and to his office of lord of the bed chamber, and from this time gained such an ascendancy over the king, that he made him his chief confident, and at his instigation, removed the lord chancellor Clarendon.

The duke of Buckingham now took the lead in administration, and was at the head of the cabinet council stiled the CABAL, which was formed in 1670. The same year he went ambassador to France, in order to break *the triple alliance*, which had been the boast of Sir William Temple, (see his life in vol. V.) Anthony Wood says, that his person and his errand were so acceptable to the French king, that he entertained him very nobly for several days together, and gave him a sword and belt set with diamonds, to the value of 40000 pistoles; and a French historian, *Mons. de Verville*, assures us, that “the most christian king shewed him greater respect than ever any foreign ambassador had been known to receive, as he knew him to be *un homme de plaisir*, he entertained him accordingly; nothing says he, could be so welcome to the court of Versailles as the business he came about; for which reason a regale was prepared for him, that might have besitted the magnificence of the Roman emperors, when Rome flourished in its utmost grandeur.” But nothing could be more unpopular in England than this embassy, which was calculated to ruin the Dutch, and to destroy the protestant interest in Europe: so that the duke was very differently received upon his return home, and his enemies being loud
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in their complaints against him, he is strongly suspected of a base attempt to take off the duke of Ormond his old adversary; by encouraging Blood, the villain who afterwards stole the crown from the Tower, in his assault upon Ormond, who was taken out of his coach in St. James's street, by Blood, and his associates, and dragged beyond Devonshire house in Picadilly, before he was rescued; their design was to have carried him to Tyburn, and to have hanged him on the gallows. The earl of Ossory, the duke of Ormond's son it is said, was so convinced of Buckingham's guilt, that in the king's presence, he told the duke, if his father should come to an untimely end, he should consider him as the author, and most assuredly would pistol him, even if he stood behind the king's chair.

In 1671, the duke was installed chancellor of the university of Oxford; and the same year, his celebrated comedy, intitled *THE REHEARSAL*, was first brought upon the stage. The uncommon applause with which it was received, appears to have been due to the merit of the piece, though it was by many at the time, ascribed to the high rank of the author, since it has constantly engaged the attention of the public, and when the principal character is well filled, always draws together crowded audiences. Indeed, the *Rehearsal* is justly considered as a most perfect piece, and as lord Shaftesbury observes, is the standard of true comic ridicule. The foibles and partialities of poets, especially in the dramatic walk, are finely satirised, but Mr. Dryden, who was principally aimed at, could never forgive the duke, and he has returned the compliment, by a most bitter satire, in the character of Zimri, drawn for the duke, in his poem of *Abfalom and Achitophel*.

The only account we have of the duke's conduct in public affairs this year is, that he was an

adviser of the declaration of indulgence, by which the penal laws against dissenters from the church of England were suspended. The following year, he was joined in a secret commission with the lords Arlington and Halifax to Louis XIV. then at Utrecht, to concert measures with that monarch for carrying on a second war against the Dutch; but as soon as the parliament met in 1673, a complaint was exhibited against him in the house of commons for the share he had had in the late mal-administration of public affairs; upon which he laid the blame of the dutch war upon lord Arlington, who was there-upon impeached, and he vindicated himself so ably in a long speech before the managers on the part of the house of commons, that the prosecution against him was laid aside. From this time, the duke lost all favour at court, and began openly to oppose the measures of administration. In 1675, he brought a bill into the house of lords for tolerating the dissenters, and he was one of the managers for the house of lords in the famous conference they held that year with the commons, respecting the jurisdiction of the upper house, in the case of Dr. Shirley's appeal from the court of chancery against Sir John Fagg a member of the house of commons, which appeal the commons had so highly resented, that they ordered Dr. Shirley to be taken into custody. The debates at this conference ran so high, that the king apprehensive of the consequences of the quarrel between the two houses, prorogued the parliament to a term exceeding twelve months, and thence called, the long prorogation. When this parliament met again, in February 1677, the duke of Buckingham made a florid speech, as soon as the king had left the house, tending to shew that his majesty had gone beyond the bounds of the royal prerogative in the late prorogation; that the parliament then assembled

bled had no right to sit, being in fact dissolved, and that a new parliament ought to be called according to law; he was seconded in this declaration by the lords Shaftesbury, Salisbury, and Wharton, and as they defended their assertion the next day by strong arguments from law and reason, it was moved by the lords in administration, that they should be committed to the Tower, which being carried by a majority, they were accordingly sent to that state prison, where the earl of Shaftesbury was confined upwards of a year, but the duke of Buckingham and the other lords, upon making their submission, in a petition to the king were soon released. Yet this did not prevent the duke's future, vigorous opposition to the earl of Danby's measures, who was then at the head of the treasury, and deemed the prime minister; in this view upon the discovery of the popish plot by Dr. Tongue and Titus Oates, he was zealous in the prosecution of the accused, and became greatly instrumental to the impeachment of the earl of Danby, who escaped further punishment, by pleading the king's pardon; he likewise attempted the removal of the duke of Lauderdale, by using his interest in the house of commons to procure an address to the king for that purpose, but he failed in this design, for the king refused to gratify the commons, and even took upon himself the vindication of Lauderdale, who had the chief management of the affairs of Scotland during the greatest part of this reign.

Though the tory ministry was discarded, in 1679, and a new one formed consisting of a medley of both parties, in which lord Shaftesbury was included, yet Buckingham had given the king so much personal offence, by speaking of his majesty with the utmost contempt in all companies, that all the interest of his friends proved ineffectual to

restore him to any employment about the court; and it is most probable that from this time, he gave a loose to dissipation, and lived upon his estate (the greatest part of which he spent before he died) without interfering with public affairs; for we have no further account of him as a public character, during the remainder of his life. But the following particulars of his latter days are related by Mr. Fairfax. Upon the death of the king, he went into the country to his manor seat at Helmesley in Yorkshire. There he passed his time in hunting and entertaining his friends, which he did a fortnight before his death as pleasantly and hospitably as ever he had done. He took cold one day after fox-hunting by sitting on the ground, which brought on an ague and fever of which he died, after three days sickness, at a tenant's house, on Kirby-moor side, a lordship of his own, near Helmesley in the year 1688. Anthony Wood says, that he died at his house in Yorkshire; but the circumstance of his sitting upon the cold ground, when warm with the chase, renders it highly probable, that he was suddenly taken ill, and carried to his tenant's house, which might be an inn, and thus we may account for the pathetic reflections on his death contained in the following elegant lines of Mr. Pope:

Behold what blessings wealth to life can lend!
 And see, what comfort it affords our end.
 In the worst inn's worst room, with mat half-hung
 The floors of plaister, and the walls of dung,
 On once a flock-bed, but repair'd with straw,
 With tape-tied curtains, never meant to draw,
 The George and Garter dangling from that bed,
 Where tawdry yellow strove with dirty red,
 Great *Villiers* lies, alas! how changed from him,
 That life of pleasure, and that soul of whim!

Gallant and gay, in Cliveden's proud alcove,
The bower of wanton *Shrewsbury* and love;
Or just as gay at council, in a ring,
Of mimick'd statesmen, and their merry king,
No wit to flatter left, of all his store!
No fool to laugh at, which he valued more.
There, victor of his health, of fortune, friends,
And fame; this lord of useless thousands ends.

Epistle on the use of riches. v. 297.

The duke of Buckingham's character may be collected from the accurate sketch of it drawn by the pencils of those great masters of descriptive poetry, Dryden and Pope; and though the former was his professed enemy on account of the *Rehearsal*, yet upon a comparison of *Zimri* with bishop Burnet's account of the duke, the picture does not seem to be greatly overcharged. His grace had no children by his duchess, so that in him the title, in the family of *Villiers* became extinct. It was afterwards transferred to that of *Sheffield*.

The literary abilities of the duke of Buckingham have entitled him to rank with the first of the minor british poets. His dramatic pieces, besides *The Rehearsal*, are, *The Chances*, a comedy, altered from Fletcher, and still occasionally represented. *The Restoration*, or, *Right will take place*, a tragi-comedy. The battle of *Sedgmoor*, a farce; and, *The Militant Couple*, or, *The husband may thank himself*, a fragment. His other poetical writings consist of small poems, complimentary and satirical. One is intitled, *The lost mistress*, a complaint against the countess of *Shrewsbury*, as is supposed. This abandoned woman was so lost to all sense of honour, shame, or even humanity, that she is charged with having excited a duel between the duke and her husband,

band, in which the duke killed the earl, and it is added, that she not only held the duke's horse in the disguise of a page while the duel was fought, but afterwards went to bed with him, before he had changed his shirt, stained with the blood of her husband.

But how will the reader be astonished to find that such a professed debauchee as Buckingham wrote also some prose compositions on serious subjects, which would have done honour to the pen of a divine. Such however are, his "short discourse upon the reasonableness of mens having a religion or worship of God," which was published about three years before his death, and passed through several editions. His "Essay on reason and religion." And, another on "human reason." Of a less serious cast, but containing much wit, and some just, though severe strictures on the romish religion, is his account of a conference between himself and father Fitzgerald, whom king James sent to him, during a fit of illness to convert him to the romish church. Several of his speeches in parliament have likewise been published, which together with most of the above mentioned tracts and poems were printed in a miscellany, under the title of the works of his grace George Villiers, late duke of Buckingham. London 1715. 2 volumes octavo. They contain however, various poems and speeches of other eminent persons.

* * *Authorities.* Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. 2. Memoirs of the life of G. Villiers, duke of Buckingham, by Mr. Brian Fairfax, Lond. 4to. 1758. Bishop Burnet's hist. of his own times. Biog. Britannica.

 SUPPLEMENT.

The LIFE of

JOHN SELDEN.

[A. D. 1584, to 1654.]

THIS eminent lawyer and learned critic was descended from a good family, and born at Salvinton near Terring in Suffex, the 16th of December 1584. He was educated at the free-school in Chichester; and at sixteen years of age, was sent to Hart-Hall in Oxford, where he continued about three years. Then he entered himself of Clifford's-Inn, London, in order to study the law; and about two years after removed to the Inner-Temple, where he soon acquired a great reputation by his learning. His first friendships were with Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Henry Spelman, Camden, and Usher, all of them learned in antiquities; which was also Mr Selden's favourite object. In 1610, he began to distinguish himself by publications in this way, and put out two pieces that year; "*Jani Anglorum facies altera, and Duello, or the original of single combat.*" In 1612, he published notes and illustrations on the first eighteen songs in Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*, and the year after wrote verses in Greek, Latin and English, upon Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*; which, with

divers poems prefixed to the works of other authors, occasioned Sir John Suckling to give him a place in his "Session of the Poets." In 1614, came out his "Titles of Honour," a work much esteemed at home and abroad; and which, "as to what concerns our nobility and gentry, says a certain writer, all will allow ought first to be perused, for the gaining a general notion of the distinctions from an emperor down to a country-gentleman." In 1616, he published "Notes on Fortescue de legibus Angliæ;" and in 1617, "De Diis Syris Syntagmata Duo," which was reprinted at Leyden 1629, in 8vo. by Ludovicus de Dieu, after it had been revised and enlarged by Selden himself.

Mr. Selden was not then above three and thirty years of age; and yet he had shewn himself a great philologist, antiquary, herald, and linguist: and his name was so wonderfully advanced, not only at home, but in foreign countries, that he was actually then become, what he was afterwards usually stiled, the great dictator of learning to the English nation. In 1618, when he was in his thirty fourth year, his "History of Tithes," was printed in 4to. in the preface to which, he reproaches the clergy with ignorance and lazyness, with having nothing to keep up their credit, but beard, title, and habit, their studies not reaching farther than the breviary, the postils, and polyanthea; in the work itself he endeavours to shew, that tithes are not due under christianity by divine right, though he allows the clergy's title to them by the laws of the land. This book gave great offence to the clergy, and was animadverted on by several writers; by Dr. Richard Montague, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, in particular. The author was also called, not indeed before the high commission court, as some have represented, but before some lords of the high com-

commission, and also before the privy council, and obliged to make a submission; which he did most willingly for publishing a book, which against his intention had given offence, yet without recanting any thing contained in it, which he never did.

In 1621, king James I. being displeased with the parliament, and having imprisoned several members, whom he suspected of opposing his measures, ordered Mr. Selden likewise to be committed to the custody of the sheriff of London: for, though he was not then a member of the house of commons, yet he had been sent for and consulted by them, and had given his opinion very strongly in favour of their privileges, in opposition to the court. However, by the interest of Andrews, bishop of Winchester, he, with the other gentlemen, was set at liberty in five weeks. He then returned to his studies, and wrote and published learned works, as usual. In 1623, he was chosen a burgess for Lancaster; but amidst all the divisions, with which the nation was then agitated, kept himself perfectly neuter. In 1625, he was chosen again for Great Bedwin in Wiltshire; and in this first parliament of king Charles I. declared himself warmly against the duke of Buckingham, and when that nobleman was impeached in 1626, was one of the managers of the articles against him.

He opposed the court-party the three following years with great vigour in many speeches. The king, having dissolved the parliament in 1628, ordered several members of the house of commons to be committed to the Tower. Mr. Selden, being one of this number, insisted upon the benefit of the laws, and refused to make any submission to the court; upon which he was removed to the King's-bench prison. He was released the latter end of the year, though it does not appear how;

only, that the parliament in 1646, ordered him 5000*l.* for the losses he had sustained on that occasion. In 1650, he was again committed to custody, with the earls of Bedford and Clare, Sir Robert Cotton, and Mr. St. John, being accused of having dispersed a libel, intituled, “A proposition for his majesty’s service to bridle the impertinency of parliaments;” but it was proved, that Sir Robert Dudley, then living in the duke of Tuscany’s dominions, was the author. All these various imprisonments and tumults gave no interruption to his studies; but he proceeded, in his old way, to write and publish books.

King James had ordered Mr. Selden to make collections proper to shew the right of the crown of England to the dominion of the sea, and he had engaged in the work; but upon the affront, he had received by his imprisonment, laid it aside. However in 1634, a dispute arising between the English and the Dutch concerning the herring-fishery upon the British coast, and Grotius having before published in 1609, his “*Mare Liberum*” in favour of the latter, Mr. Selden was prevailed upon by archbishop Laud, who, though he did not love his principles in church and state-affairs, yet could not help revering him for his learning and manners, to draw up his “*Mare Clausum*,” and it was accordingly published in 1636. This book recommended him highly to the favour of the court, and he might have had any thing he would; but his attachment to his books, together with his great love of ease, made him indifferent, if not averse, to posts and preferments. In 1640, he published, “*De Jure Naturali & Gentium juxta disciplinam Hebræorum*,” folio. Mr. Puffendorff applauds this work highly; but his translator, Barbeyrac, observes, with regard to it, “that besides the extreme disorder

order and obscurity, which are justly to be censured in his manner of writing, he does not derive his principles of the law of nature from the pure light of reason, but merely from the seven precepts given to Noah; and frequently contents himself by citing the decisions of the rabbins, without giving himself the trouble to examine, whether they be just or not." Monsieur Le Clerc says, "that in this book Mr. Selden has only copied the rabbins, and scarce ever reasons at all. His rabbinical principles are founded upon an uncertain Jewish tradition, namely, that God gave to Noah seven precepts, to be observed by all mankind: which, if it should be denied, the Jews would find a difficulty to prove. Besides his ideas are very imperfect and embarrassed." There is certainly some foundation for this; and what is here said concerning this particular work, may be more or less applied to all he wrote. Mr. Selden had a great memory and prodigious learning; and these had oftentimes the same effect on him, as they have always on men of lower abilities, such as Dodwell for instance: that is, they checked and impeded the use of his reasoning faculty, perplexed and embarrassed his ideas, and crowded his writings with citations and authorities, to supply the place of sense and argument.

The same year, 1640, he was chosen member of parliament for the university of Oxford; and tho' he was against the court, yet in 1642, the king had thoughts of taking the seal from the lord keeper Littleton, and giving it to him. The lord Clarendon tells us, that the lord Falkland and himself, to whom his majesty referred the consideration of that affair, "did not doubt of Mr. Selden's affection to the king;" but withall they knew him so well, that they concluded he would absolutely refuse the place, if it were offered to him. "He was

in years, continues the noble historian, and of a tender constitution: he had for many years enjoyed his ease, which he loved; was rich, and would not have made a journey to York, or have lain out of his own bed, for any preferment, which he had never affected." In 1643, he was appointed one of the lay members to sit in the assembly of divines at Westminster, in which he frequently perplexed those divines with great learning: and, as Mr. Whitelocke relates, "sometimes when they had cited a text of scripture to prove their assertion, he would tell them, perhaps in your little pocket bibles with gilt leaves, which they would often pull out and read, the translation may be thus, but the Greek or the Hebrew signify thus and thus; and so would totally silence them."

About this time he took the covenant; and the same year, 1643, was by the parliament appointed keeper of the records in the tower. In 1644, he was elected one of the twelve commissioners of the admiralty; and the same year was nominated to the mastership of Trinity college in Cambridge, which he did not think proper to accept. About this time he did great services to the university of Oxford, as appears from several letters written to him by that university, which are printed: and indeed he never meant to disserve or do mischief to any person or party, his only view in continuing with the parliament being to keep himself out of harm's way, and to enjoy as much ease as he could in very uneasy and troublesome times. He never concurred in any violent measures, but often opposed, and always discountenanced them. Upon the publication of the *Eikon Basilike*, Cromwell employed all his interest to engage him to write an answer to that book; but he absolutely refused. In the beginning of 1654, his health began to decline; and he died on
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the 30th of November that year, in White-Friars, at the house of Elizabeth, countess of Kent, with whom he had lived some years in such intimacy, that they were reported to be as man and wife; and Dr. Wilkins supposes, that the wealth, which Mr. Selden left at his death, was chiefly owing to the generosity of that countess: but there is no good reason for either of the surmises. He was buried in the Temple church, where a monument was erected to him; and archbishop Usher preached his funeral sermon. He left a most valuable and curious library to his executors, Matthew Hale, John Vaughan, and Rowland Jews, Esquires; which they generously would have bestowed on the society of the Inner-Temple, if a proper place had been provided to receive it; but this being neglected, they gave it to the university of Oxford.

Mr. Selden's knowledge of the laws of civil society, and his skill in Hebrew, and the oriental languages, procured him the esteem of all the learned men of his time in Europe, and even the celebrated Grotius, with a generosity uncommon in literary rivals, styles him, "the glory of the English nation." But the noblest testimony of his great abilities, is that of his intimate friend the earl of Clarendon, with whose sketch of his character, we shall close these memoirs.

Mr. Selden was a person, says he, whom no character can flatter, or transmit in any expression equal to his merit and virtue. He was of so stupendous learning in all kinds, and in all languages, as may appear from his excellent and transcendant writings, that a man would have thought he had been entirely conversant among books, and had never spent an hour, but in reading and writing; yet his humanity, courtesy, and affability was such, that he would have been thought to have been bred in the
best

best courts, but that his good nature, charity, and delight in doing good, and in communicating all he knew, exceeded that breeding. His stile in all his writings seems harsh, and sometimes obscure; which is not wholly to be imputed to the abstruse subjects, of which he commonly treated, out of the paths trod by other men, but to a little undervaluing the beauty of a stile, and too much propensity to the language of antiquity: but in his conversation he was the most clear discourser, and had the best faculty in making hard things easy, and presenting them to the understanding, of any man that hath been known.

His works were collected by Dr. David Wilkins, and printed at London in three volumes folio, 1726. The two first volumes contain his latin works, and the third, his English. The editor has prefixed a long life of the author, and added several pieces never before published; particularly letters, poems, &c.

Authorities. Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* Life of Selden, by Wilkins. Nicholson's *English Historical Library*.

The LIFE of

DR. WILLIAM HARVEY.

[A. D. 1578, to 1657.]

THIS celebrated physician was the eldest son of Thomas Harvey, a gentleman of Folkstone in Kent, where he was born in 1578. At ten years of

of age he was sent to the grammar school at Canterbury; and in May 1593, when he was somewhat turned of fifteen years of age, he was removed to Gonvil and Caius College, in the university of Cambridge. Having spent six years in this University, in the study of logic and natural philosophy, as a proper foundation for the study of physic, he travelled abroad, and went to Padua in Italy, where he attended the lectures of the famous Fabricius of Aquapendente on anatomy, of Minodans on pharmacy, and of Casserius on chirurgery. And having taken the degree of doctor of physic in that university, when he was twenty-four years of age, he returned home to his native country.

After his return to England, he took the degree of doctor of physic at Cambridge, and going to London, entered upon the practice of his profession there. In the thirtieth year of his age, he was chosen a fellow of the college of physicians in London: and soon after he was appointed physician to St. Bartholomew's hospital.

On the 4th of August, 1615, he was appointed by the college of physicians, to read the anatomy and chirurgery lecture founded by Dr. Richard Caldwell. And it was probably on this occasion, that he first proposed his sentiments concerning the use of the heart, and the circulation of the blood. For in an anatomical treatise written about this time, and still extant in his own hand, the chief principles of his discovery upon this subject are to be found. But in the first lectures hereupon, he only opened, as it were, his sentiments upon the subject; but when he had afterwards examined and discussed his hypothesis more thoroughly, fortified it with arguments, and confirmed it by repeated experiments made before the college of physicians, he published at Frankfort, in 1628, in 4to, his *Exercitationem anatomicam*

anatomicam de cordis et sanguinis motu. Of this book, whether we consider the importance of the subject, the clearness of the method, or the strength of reasoning with which Dr. Harvey supports his opinion, we may truly assert, that there is scarcely any treatise on a similar subject to be compared with it.

Dr Harvey's discovery was of the greatest importance in the whole art of physic. But no man who has attained great excellence, has ever escaped the attacks of envy. Discoveries or improvements in any art or science, have generally been viewed with a very jealous eye by the bulk of the professors of those arts or sciences. And accordingly Harvey's discovery concerning the circulation of the blood, brought upon him many opponents of his own profession. Their several attempts to refute his book, were indeed without success; but some of his antagonists seem to have been mean enough to endeavour to obstruct him in his private practice; for it appears, that Harvey complained to one of his friends, that he was much less frequently called upon to visit the sick, after he had published his book concerning the motion of the heart.

Harvey's adversaries may be divided into two classes, by which he was attacked on different sides, and by very different arguments. Of these, the one party endeavoured to make it appear, that Harvey's hypothesis was false; whilst the other admitted it to be well founded, but asserted that he was not the author of the discovery. One of the first who attacked Harvey's principles concerning the circulation, was *Æmilius Parisanus*, a physician of Venice; but he was opposed by *Sir George Ent*, of the college of physicians, between whom and Harvey there was a great friendship, in his, "*Apologia pro sanguinis circulatione.*" Harvey was also attacked by *Riolanus*, a French physician and anatomist; but he

he answered him himself in his "*Exercitationes anatomicæ duæ de circulatione sanguinis, ad J. Riolanum J. Filium.*"

Those who endeavoured to deprive Harvey of the honour of discovering the circulation, asserted that it was known to preceding writers. Vander Linden took much pains to prove that it was known to Hippocrates, others said it was known to Galen, others to Michael Servetus, and others to Columbus, an anatomist; and Mr. Bayle afterwards affirmed very confidently, that it was known to Cæsalpinus. Passages were cited from these authors to prove this; but it has been shewn very clearly by Dr. Friend, in his history of physic, as well as by others, that the passages cited do by no means answer the purpose for which they were produced. The honour of discovering the circulation was also attributed to the famous father Paul. This was occasioned by the following incident. The Venetian ambassador in England was presented by Dr. Harvey with his book on the circulation of the blood; which on his return to Venice, he lent to father Paul, who transcribed the most remarkable particulars out of it. These transcripts, after father Paul's death, came into the hands of executors, which induced several persons to imagine that he was the author of them, and gave rise to the report that he had discovered the circulation of the blood. But Dr. Harvey had letters from Fra. Fulgentio, father Paul's most intimate friend, which set the affair in a clear light. Upon the whole, we may conclude with the words of Dr. Friend, "As this great discovery was intirely owing to our countryman, so he has explained it with all the clearness imaginable; and tho' much has been written upon that subject, I may venture to say, his own book is the shortest, the plainest, and the most convincing of any, as we may be satisfied,
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if we look into the many apologies written in defence of the circulation."

On the third of February, 1623, letters were granted by king James I. permitting Dr. Harvey to wait and attend on his majesty in the same manner as the physicians in ordinary did, with a promise that he should succeed to that office on the first vacancy. And he was afterwards appointed physician to king Charles I. He adhered to that prince upon the breaking out of the civil wars, and attended his majesty at the battle of Edge-hill, and from thence to Oxford; and in 1642, he was incorporated doctor of physic in that university. In 1645, by the king's influence, he was elected warden of Merton-college; but upon the surrendering of Oxford the year after to the parliament, he was obliged to quit that office; and retiring to London, he passed his time privately in the neighbourhood of that city.

In 1651, he published his "*Exercitationes de generatione animalium: quibus accedunt quædam de partu de membranis ac humoribus uteri, et de conceptione.*" This is a curious and valuable work and would certainly have been more so, had not the civil war occasioned the loss of some of his papers. For although he had permission from the parliament to attend the king, upon his majesty's leaving Whitehall, yet his house in London was in his absence plundered of all the furniture; and his *Adversaria*, with a great number of anatomical observations, relating especially to the generation of insects, were carried off, and never afterwards recovered by him. This loss he greatly lamented.

Dr. Harvey had the happiness to live to see the doctrine of the circulation generally received. And in 1652, a statue was erected to his honour by the college of physicians. Two years after, he was chosen

sen president of the college in his absence; and coming thither the day after, he acknowledged his great obligations to the electors for the honour they had done him, but declined accepting of the office, on account of his age and weakness. As he had no children, he made the college his heirs, and settled his paternal estate upon them in July following. He had three years before built them a room to assemble in, and a library; and, in 1656, he brought the deeds of his estate, and presented them to the college. He was then present at the first feast, instituted by himself, to be continued annually, together with a commemoration speech in latin, to be spoken on the 18th of October, in honour of the benefactors to the college. He died on the 3d of June, 1657, and was carried to be interred at Hempstead, in the county of Hertfordshire, where a monument was erected to his memory. It has been reported, that Dr. Harvey before his death was deprived of his sight, and thereupon drank a glass of opium, and expired soon after: but this report appears to have been entirely without foundation.

Dr. Harvey was not only eminently learned in the sciences more immediately connected with his profession, but was also well versed in other branches of literature. He was well read in antient and modern history; and when he was wearied with too close an attention to the study of nature, he would relax his mind by discoursing with his friends on political affairs. He took great pleasure in reading some of the antient poets, and especially Virgil, with whose works he was exceedingly delighted. He was laboriously studious, regular and virtuous in his life, and had a strong sense of religion. In his familiar conversation there was a mixture of gravity and cheerfulness; he expressed himself with great perspicuity,

perspicuity, and with much grace and dignity; and was eminent for his great candour and moderation. He never endeavoured to detract from the merit of other men; but appeared always to think that the virtues of others were to be imitated, and not envied. And in the controversy which was occasioned by his discovery of the circulation, he seemed much more solicitous to discover truth, than to obtain fame. In the latter part of his life, he was greatly afflicted with the gout. He married the daughter of Launcelot Browne, doctor of physic, but had no children by her.

An elegant and correct edition of Dr. Harvey's works, in one volume, quarto, was published by the college of physicians at London, in 1766, with a life of him in latin prefixed, to which we have been indebted principally for our account of this great physician.

MEMOIRS OF SAMUEL COOPER, PAINTER.

[A. D. 1609, to 1672.]

SAMUEL COOPER was born in London, in the year 1609, and bred up under the care and instructions of Mr. John Hoskins, his uncle; a limner of some eminence; but he derived the most considerable advantages from the observations which he made on the works of Vandyke, insomuch that he was commonly stiled the Vandyke in little. His pencil was generally confined to a head only; and
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indeed below that part he was not always equally successful. But for a face and all the dependencies of it, the graceful and becoming air, the strength, relieve, and noble spirit, the softness and tender liveliness of flesh and blood, and the looseness and genteel management of the hair, his talent was so extraordinary, that he was considered as at least equal to the most famous Italians: and it is said, that hardly any one of his predecessors had ever been able to shew so much perfection in so narrow a compass. The high prices his works sold at, and the great esteem they were in at Rome, Venice, and in France, were abundant proofs of their great worth, and extended the fame of this master throughout all parts of Europe. He so far exceeded his master and uncle, Mr. Hoskins, that he became jealous of him; and finding that the court was better pleased with his nephew's performances than with his, he took him into partnership with him. His jealousy, however, increased, and he dissolved it; leaving our artist to set up for himself, and to carry, as he did most of the business of that time with him. He drew king Charles II. and his queen, the duchess of Cleveland, the duke of York, and most of the court: but the two most famous pieces of his were those of Oliver Cromwell, and of one Swingfield. The French king offered 150*l.* for the former, but could not have it: and Mr. Cooper carrying the latter with him to France, it was much admired there, and introduced him to the favour of that court. He likewise did several large limnings in an unusual size for the court of England; for which his widow received a pension during her life from the crown.

As Mr. Cooper had great abilities in painting, so he was also eminently skilled in music; and was esteemed one of the best lutenists of his time. He spent several years of his life abroad, was personally acquainted

acquainted with the greatest men in France, Holland, and his own country, and by his works more universally known in all parts of Europe. He died at London in 1672, at sixty-three years of age, and was buried in Pancras church in the fields; where there is a marble monument set over him, with a latin inscription upon it. He had an elder brother, Mr. Alexander Cooper, who together with him, was also brought up to limning by Mr. Hoskins, their uncle. Alexander performed well in miniature; and going beyond sea, became limner to Christiana queen of Sweden, yet was far exceeded by his brother Samuel. He also did landscapes in water colours extremely well, and was accounted an admirable draughtsman.

* * *Authority.* Gen. Biog. Dictionary.

The LIFE of
JOHN MILTON.

[A. D. 1608, to 1674.]

THIS most celebrated poet, who likewise distinguished himself as a political writer, was descended from an antient family of that name, at Milton, near Abingdon, in Oxfordshire. The family had been long seated there, as appears by the monuments still to be seen in the church of Milton, till one of them, having taken the unfortunate side in the contests between the houses of York and Lancaster,

Lancaster, was deprived of his estate, except what he held by his wife. Our poet's grandfather, whose name was John Milton, was under-ranger, or reaper of the forest of Shotover, near Halton, in Oxfordshire; and being a zealous papist, he disinherited his son for having very early in life embraced the protestant faith; upon which he went to London, pursued the business of a scrivener, and marrying a gentlewoman of a good family, he purchased a house and settled in Bread-street, where this sublime poet, his eldest son, was born in 1608. But a man of Milton's genius needs not have the circumstances of birth called in to render him illustrious, he reflects the highest honour upon his family, which receives from him more glory than the longest descent of years can give.

Milton was both educated under a domestic tutor, and likewise at St. Paul's school, under Mr. Alexander Gill, where he made, by his indefatigable application, an extraordinary progress in learning. From his twelfth year he generally sat up the greatest part of the night at his studies, which occasioning frequent head-achs, proved very prejudicial to his eyes; and in his own opinion laid the foundation of his future blindness. In the year 1625, he was entered at Christ's College in Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr. William Chappel, afterwards bishop of Ross in Ireland. The same year he wrote a Latin elegy on the death of Dr. Andrews, bishop of Winchester, and a fine poem on the discovery of the gunpowder plot; but before that time, he had distinguished himself by several Latin and English poems, and in his most juvenile compositions had discovered a capacity superior to his age.

After he had taken the degree of master of arts, in 1632, he left the university, and for the space
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of five years lived with his parents at their house at Horton, near Colnbrook in Buckinghamshire, where his father having acquired a competent fortune, thought proper to retire, and spend the remainder of his days.

His father designed him for the church, and for some time could not be diverted from his intention, but at length young Milton having expressed himself very freely in letters to his friends against the subscription to the thirty-nine articles required from all persons on taking orders; and likewise against the administration of ecclesiastical affairs in the church of England; his father had too much honour to force his conscience. His objections are stated in the clearest manner, by his own masterly pen, in his "Introduction to the reason of church government," vol. 2

In his retirement at Horton, which lasted five years, he read over all the greek and latin authors and closely applied himself to the study of history, and to improving himself in poetry.

In the year 1634 he produced his masque of *Comus*, performed at Ludlow castle, before John earl of Bridgewater, then president of Wales: it appears from the edition of this masque, published by Mr. Henry Lawes, that the principal performers were, the lord Barclay, Mr. Thomas Egerton, the lady Alice Egerton and Mr. Lawes himself, who represented an attendant spirit. In 1637 our author published his *Lycidas*; in this poem, he laments the death of his friend Mr. Edward King, who was drowned in his passage from Chester, on the Irish seas, in 1637: it was printed the year following at Cambridge, in quarto, in a collection of Latin and English poems upon Mr. King's death, with whom he had contracted the strongest friendship. The Latin epitaph informs us, that Mr. King, was son
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of Sir John King, secretary for Ireland to queen Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I. that he was a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, and was drowned in the twenty-fifth year of his age.

It was within this period of time that he also composed his well known poems intitled *L'Allegro* and *Il Pensero*. His poetical fame now began to be circulated, and as it frequently happens to men of great genius, an attempt was made to blast his laurels in the bud. A slight circumstance was swelled into a calumnious charge: he wrote a latin elegy to his intimate friend Charles Diodati, a learned foreigner, in which he reflected on the two universities on account of the ignorance of the professors and the general debauchery that prevailed in them, upon which his enemies reported that he was expelled from Cambridge for some misdemeanor, or left it in discontent because he could not get any preferment there; and that he had spent his time since, in an irregular, licentious course of life at London. These scandalous reports were totally void of truth; he did indeed make frequent excursions to London, but only to buy books and to improve himself in mathematics and music.

Upon the death of his mother, Milton obtained leave of his father to travel, and having waited upon Sir Henry Wotton, formerly ambassador at Venice, and then provost of Eaton-college, to whom he communicated his design; that gentleman wrote a very friendly letter to him, dated from the college, April 16, 1638, which is printed among the *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, and in Dr. Newton's life of Milton. It contains directions for his route, recommendations to persons of eminence abroad, and an assurance of more, at every place where he might reside any time. Immediately after the receipt of this letter our author set out for France, accom-

panied only by one servant, who attended him through all his travels.

At Paris, Milton was introduced to the famous Hugo Grotius; from thence he went to Florence, Siena, Rome, and Naples, in all which places he was entertained with the utmost civility, by persons of the first distinction.

When our poet was at Naples, he was introduced to the acquaintance of Giovanni Baptista Manso, Marquis of Villa, a Neapolitan nobleman, celebrated for his taste in the liberal arts, to whom Tasso addresses his Dialogue on Friendship, and whom he likewise mentions in his *Gierusalemme liberata*, with great honour. This nobleman shewed extraordinary civilities to Milton, frequently visited him at his lodgings, and accompanied him when he went to see the several curiosities of the city. He was not content with giving our author these exterior marks of respect only, but he honoured him with a Latin distich in his praise, which is printed before Milton's Latin poems. Milton, no doubt, was highly pleased with such extreme condescension and esteem from a person of the marquis of Villa's quality; and as an evidence of his gratitude, he presented the marquis, at his departure from Naples, his eclogue, intitled *Mansus*; which says Dr. Newton, is well worth reading among his Latin poems; so that it may be reckoned a peculiar felicity in the marquis of Villa's life, to have been celebrated both by Tasso and Milton, the greatest poets of their respective countries.

Having seen the finest parts of Italy, and conversed with men of the first distinction, he was preparing to pass over into Sicily and Greece, when the news from England, that a civil war was like to lay his country in blood, diverted his purpose; for as by his education and principles he was attached to the
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parliamentary interest, he thought it a mark of abject cowardice, for a lover of his country to take his pleasure abroad, while the friends of liberty were contending at home for the rights of human nature. He resolved therefore to return by the way of Rome, though he was dissuaded from pursuing that resolution, by the merchants, who were informed by their correspondents, that the English jesuits there, were forming plots against his life, in case he should return thither, on account of the great freedom with which he had treated their religion, and the boldness he discovered in demonstrating the absurdity of the popish tenets. But, stedfast in his resolution, he went to Rome the second time, and stayed there two months more, neither concealing his name, nor declining any disputations to which his antagonists in religious opinions invited him; he escaped the secret machinations of the jesuits, and came safe to Florence, where he was received by his friends with as much tenderness as if he had returned to his own country. Here he remained two months, as he had done in his former visit, excepting only an excursion of a few days to Lucca, and then crossing the Appenine, and passing through Bologna, and Ferrara, he arrived at Venice, in which city he spent a month; and having shipped off the books he had collected in his travels, he took his course through Verona, Milan, and along the lake Lemane to Geneva. In this city he continued some time, meeting there with people of his own principles, and contracted an intimate friendship with Giovanni Deodati, the learned professor of divinity, whose Annotations on the Bible are published in English; and from thence returning to France the same way he had gone before, he arrived safe in England, after an absence of fifteen months, in which he had seen much of

the world, read the characters of famous men, examined the policy of different countries, and made more extensive improvements than travellers of an inferior genius, and less penetration, can be supposed to do in double the time.

Soon after his return he took a handsome house in Aldersgate-street, and undertook the education of his sister's two sons, upon a plan of his own. And being strongly solicited by some gentlemen his intimate friends, to whom he could not give a denial, to impart the same benefits of learning to their sons, especially as the trouble was little more with many than with a few, he consented; and having now occasion for some system of education, because he disapproved of the common methods; he planned his academical institution, afterwards set forth in his *treatise on education*, in which he leads his scholar from Lilly, as he expresses it, to his commencing master of arts. His success with his pupils was answerable to his capacity for the undertaking, but the course of education recommended in his treatise being calculated to subvert the protracting plan pursued in our universities and fashionable schools it has only been followed by judicious, private preceptors. In this kind of scholastic solitude he continued some time, but he was not so much immersed in academical studies, as to remain an indifferent spectator of what was acted upon the public theatre of his country.

The nation being in a great ferment in 1641, and the clamour against episcopacy running very high, Milton, who discovered how much inferior in eloquence and learning the puritan ministers in general were to the bishops, engaged warmly with the former in support of the common cause, and exercised all the powers of reason and learning in endeavouring to overthrow the prelatical establishment,

ment, and accordingly published five tracts relating to church government; they were all printed at London, in quarto. The first was intitled, "Reformation touching church discipline in England, and the causes that have hitherto hindered it: two books written to a friend." The second was of "Practical Episcopacy, and whether it may be deduced from apostolical times, by virtue of those testimonies which are alledged to that purpose in some late treatises;" one whereof goes under the name of James Usher, archbishop of Armagh. The third was, "The reason of church government urged against the prelacy, by Mr. John Milton, in two books." The fourth was "Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's defence against Smectymnuus; or, as the title-page is, in some copies, "An apology for Smectymnuus, with the reason of church government, by John Milton."

In the year 1643, Milton married Mary the eldest daughter of Richard Powell, Esq; of Forrest-hill in Oxfordshire: this lady had not lived with her husband much above a month before she procured letters from her father, inviting her to pay a visit to her relations during the summer season, to which Milton readily consented, provided she would return at Michaelmas. In the mean time he applied himself closely to his studies, and his chief amusement was now and then in an evening to visit the lady Margaret Lee, daughter to the earl of Marlborough, lord high treasurer of England, and president of the privy council under James I. This lady Margaret being a woman of excellent understanding, took great delight in Milton's conversation, and shewed particular respect to him, as did likewise her husband captain Hobson. What a regard Milton had for her, he has left upon record

in a sonnet to her praise, extant among his other poems.

At the appointed time, Milton expected the return of his wife, but having no tidings of her, he wrote to her, but he received no answer. Repeated letters produced none, upon which he sent a special messenger with a letter, desiring her return, but she positively refused, and dismissed the messenger with contempt. Milton's biographers have assigned various reasons for this extraordinary conduct; some suppose that she had conceived a dislike to her husband's person, or to his retired and philosophical manner of life, having been accustomed to gaiety and company. Others suppose she could not bear her husband's republican principles, her father and relations being zealous royalists. But these suppositions seem to bear wide of the mark; the discontent was probably jealousy, on account of his lavish encomiums on the lady Margaret Lee, and his passing so much of his time with her, as soon as his wife was gone into the country, if—

Trifles light as air, are to the jealous,
Confirmations strong as proofs of holy writ—

we need seek no further for the cause of the resentment of a young wife, not two months married, before she discovered that his soul was wrapt up in lady Margaret, though he had given his hand to her. Milton however was so highly incensed that he resolved to repudiate her; and it was upon this occasion, that he published, "The doctrine and discipline of Divorce;" wherein he endeavoured to prove, that indisposition, unfitness, or contrariety of mind, proceeding from any unchangeable cause in nature, hindering, and ever likely to hinder, the main benefits of conjugal society, which
are

are solace and peace, are greater reasons of divorce than adultery, or natural frigidity, especially if there be no children, and there be mutual consent for separation. This piece he at first published without his name, but the style having betrayed the author, he published a second edition much augmented, with his name, and dedicated it to the parliament of England, and to the assembly of divines, desiring the subject might be taken into serious consideration. This novel doctrine now making a great noise, he was warmly attacked from the press, which obliged him to support his own opinion, by the authority of Martin Bucer on divorces. But it being still objected that his doctrine was not scriptural, he published in 1645, his *Tetrachordon*, or expositions upon the four chief passages in scripture, which treat of marriage and nullities of marriage. The assembly of divines so highly disapproved of these proceedings, that they summoned him before the house of lords, but he was dismissed without even a reprimand. And a pamphlet appearing against him intitled, "Divorce at pleasure;" and another, called, "An answer to the doctrine and discipline of divorce," he published his *Colasterion* or reply, and here ended the contest; but soon after, Milton resolved to put his opinions in practice, for he actually paid his addresses to a young lady, designing to marry her, which coming to the knowledge of his wife, brought her to submission, and a reconciliation was effected in the following manner. He had a relation, one Blackborough, living in St. Martin's le Grand, whom he often visited, this gentleman being in the scheme, one day when he was visiting, it was contrived that his wife should be in another room, and when he least thought of it, he was surpris'd to see her, falling upon her knees before him, and with tears imploring his forgiveness. At first he shewed

some signs of aversion, but he did not long continue inexorable: his wife's intreaties, and the intercession of friends, soon procured a happy reconciliation, and an oblivion of the past. For, in his own words respecting Eve—

“ —Soon his heart relented

Towards her, his life so late, and sole delight,
Now at his feet submissive in distress.”

Milton's generous behaviour to his wife's father and the rest of her family whom he took under his protection after the royal party was ruined, which they had warmly espoused, does great honour to his character: he entertained them at his own house, till by his interest, their estate and effects were restored to them by the parliament. In 1646, his wife bore him a daughter, and it appears that they lived very happily together.

About this time, his zeal for the republican party had so far recommended him, that a design was formed of making him adjutant-general in Sir William Waller's army; but the new-modelling the army proved an obstruction to that advancement. Soon after the march of Fairfax and Cromwell with the whole army through the city, in order to suppress the insurrection which Brown and Massey were endeavouring to raise there, against the army's proceedings, he left his great house in Barbican, for a smaller in High Holborn, where he prosecuted his studies till after the king's trial and death, when he published his “ Tenure of kings and magistrates,” proving that it is lawful, and hath been held so through all ages, for any persons who have the power, to call to account a tyrant or wicked king, and after due conviction to depose and put him to death; if the ordinary magistrates

gistrates have neglected or refused to do it. In the same year 1649, appeared his "Observations on the articles of peace, between James earl of Ormond for king Charles I. on the one hand, and the Irish rebels and papists on the other hand; and a letter sent by Ormond to colonel Jones, governor of Dublin; and a representation of the Scotch presbytry at Belfast in Ireland."

He was now admitted into the service of the commonwealth, and was made Latin secretary to the council of state, who resolved neither to write nor receive letters but in the Latin tongue, which was common to all states. It is somewhat strange, that in times of general confusion, when a man of parts has the fairest opportunity to display his abilities to advantage, that Milton did not rise sooner, nor to a greater elevation; he was employed by those in authority only as a writer, which conferred no power upon him, and kept him in a kind of obscurity, though he possessed abilities that were proper for the field as well as the cabinet; for we are assured that Milton was a man of confirmed courage. The regency not only employed him as Latin secretary, but likewise as a political writer; for the famous *Eikon Basilike*, or the *Royal Image*, said to be written by Charles I. in vindication of himself, appearing soon after his death, Milton was ordered to write an answer to it, which he performed under the title of *Eikonoclastes*, or the *Image breakers*. And in 1651, he published his "Pro populo Anglicano defensio," for which he was rewarded by the commonwealth, with a present of a thousand pounds, and he had a considerable hand in correcting and improving a piece written by his nephew, Mr. John Philips, and printed at London in 1652, under this title, "Joannis Philippi Angli responsis ad apologiam anonymi cujusdam tenebrionis

pro rege & populo Anglicano infantissimam." During the writing and publishing of this work, he lodged at one Thompson's, next door to the Bull-head tavern at Charing-cross; but he soon removed to a Garden-house in Petty-France, next door to lord Scudamore's, where he remained from the year 1652, till within a few weeks of the restoration. In this house, his first wife dying in child-bed in 1652, he married a second, Catherine, the daughter of captain Woodcock of Hackney, who died of a consumption in three months after she had been brought to bed of a daughter. This second marriage was about two or three years after he had been wholly deprived of his sight; but by his continual studies, the head-ach, to which he was subject from his youth, and his perpetual tampering with physic, his eyes had been decayed for twelve years before. In 1654, he published his "*Defensio Secunda*," and the year following, his "*Defensio pro Se*."

Being now at ease from his state adversaries, and public controversies, he had leisure again to prosecute his own studies, and private designs, particularly his "*History of England*," and his new "*Thesaurus linguæ Latinæ*," according to the method of Robert Stevens, the manuscript of which contained three large volumes folio, and has been made use of by the editors of the Cambridge Dictionary, printed in quarto, 1693. In 1658, he published "*Sir Walter Raleigh's Cabinet Council*;" and in 1659, "*A treatise of the civil power in ecclesiastical courts, and considerations touching the likeliest means to remove hirelings out of the church*; wherein are also discourses of tythes, church-fees, church-revenues, and whether any maintenance of ministers can be settled in law," Lond. 1659. in 12mo.

Upon

Upon the dissolution of the parliament by the army, after Richard Cromwell had been obliged to resign the protectorship, Milton wrote a letter, in which he laid down the model of a commonwealth; not such as he judged the best, but what might be the readiest settled at that time, to prevent the restoration of kingly government and domestic disorders, till a more favourable season, and better dispositions for erecting a perfect democracy. He drew up likewise another piece to the same purpose, which seems to have been addressed to general Monk; and he published in February 1659, his "Ready and easy way to establish a free commonwealth." Soon after this, he published his "Brief notes" upon a late sermon, intitled, "The fear of God and the king," printed in quarto, Lond. 1660. These notes were as speedily remarked upon by Roger L'Estrange in a piece intitled, "No blind guides."

Just before the restoration he was removed from his office of Latin secretary, and concealed himself by the advice of his friends, till the event of public affairs should direct him what course to take, for this purpose he retired to a friend's house in Bartholomew-close, near West-Smithfield, till the general amnesty was published.

The act of oblivion, says Mr. Philips, proved as favourable to him, as could be hoped or expected, thro' the intercession of some who stood his friends both in council and parliament; particularly in the house of commons, where Mr. Andrew Marvell, member for Hull, who has prefixed a copy of verses before his *Paradise Lost*, exerted himself vigorously in his behalf, and made a considerable party for him, so that together with John Goodwin of Coleman-street, he was only so far excepted as not to bear any office in the commonwealth. But the chief promoter of the pardon was Sir William Davenant, whose

whose life Milton had saved by his interest with the parliament, when he was condemned as an active royalist in 1650.

Milton, being secured by his pardon, appeared again in public, and removed to Jewin-street, where he married his third wife, Elizabeth, the daughter of Mr. Minshul of Cheshire, recommended to him by his friend Dr. Paget, to whom he was related, but he had no children by her: soon after the restoration, he was offered the place of Latin secretary, to the king, which, notwithstanding the importunities of his wife, he refused: we are informed, that when his wife pressed him to comply with the times, and accept the king's offer, he made answer, "You are in the right, my dear; you, as other women, would ride in your coach; for me, my aim is, to live and die an honest man." Soon after his marriage with his third wife, he removed to a house in the Artillery-walk, leading to Bunhill-fields, where he continued till his death, except during the plague, in 1665, when he retired with his family to St. Giles Chalfont Buckinghamshire, at which time his *PARADISE LOST* was finished, though not published till 1667.

Mr. Richardson observes, "that when Milton dictated, he used to sit leaning backwards obliquely in an easy chair, with his legs flung over the elbows of it; that he frequently composed lying a-bed in a morning, and that when he could not sleep, but lay awake whole nights, he tried, but not one verse could he make; at other times, flowed easy, his unpremeditated verse, with a certain *Impetus*, as himself used to believe; then, at what hour soever, he rung for his daughter to secure what came. I have been also told, he would dictate many, perhaps forty lines in a breath, and then reduce them to half the number."

Mr.

Mr. Philips likewise relates a remarkable circumstance in the composition of this sublime poem, told him by Milton himself, "that his poetical vein never flowed happily but from the autumnal equinox to the vernal, and that what he attempted at other times was not to his satisfaction." After the work was ready for the press, it was near being suppressed by the ignorance, or malice of the licenser, who, among other trivial objections, imagined there was treason in that noble simile, b. i. v. 594.

—— — As when the sun new-risen
Looks through the horizontal misty air,
Shorn of his beams; or from behind the moon,
In dim eclipse, disastrous twilight sheds
On half the nations, and with fear of change,
Perplexes monarchs.

The ignorance of this licenser, in objecting to this simile, has indeed perpetuated his name, but it is with no advantage; he, no doubt, imagined, that "Perplexes monarchs," was levelled against the reigning prince, which is, perhaps, the highest simile in our language; how ridiculously will people talk who are blinded by prejudice, or heated by party.

This noble work of genius, which does honour to human nature, having at length surmounted the obstructions of the licenser was permitted to be printed; when he sold it only for *five* pounds, but was to receive *five* pounds more after the sale of 1300 of the first impression. *Five* pounds after the sale of a like number of the second edition, and *five* after the sale of the same quantity of the third edition. This original contract with Samuel Simmons the printer, which is still in being, is dated April 27th, 1667, and serves to correct the mistakes we meet

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with in some writers, who assert that the absolute right of the copy was sold originally for *ten*, or *fifteen* pounds; amongst others, the editor of the first edition of the *British Plutarch* fell into this mistake.

The first edition of PARADISE LOST in ten books was printed in a small 4to, and before it could be disposed of, had three or more different title pages of the years 1667, 1668, and 1669. So that two years elapsed before he was intitled to the second five pounds, for which his receipt is still in being, dated April 26, 1669. And this was probably all that he received; for he lived not to enjoy the benefits of the second edition, which was not published till 1674, the year of his death. The second edition was printed in a small octavo, corrected by the author and increased to twelve books, with the addition of some few verses. The third edition was printed in 1678; and it appears that Milton had bequeathed the copy right to his widow, who agreed with Simmons the printer to accept eight pounds in full of all demands, and her receipt for the money is dated December 21, 1680.

All the writers of Milton's life have reflected on the taste of the age, because this poem did not meet with that applause and success it merited, at its first publication. But if it be considered how small the number of readers was at that æra, and how few of these could have the judgment to discern the beauties of a new species of poetry, this being the first in the English language of any note, not in rhyme, the success will appear to be very great, especially when it is likewise remembered, that the public was strongly prejudiced against the political principles of the author, and that though he had escaped the talons of the law, he was in perpetual danger of assassination from the mad rage of some of the most violent royalists. Under these circumstances the

sale

sale of the first impression, the number of which we know not, but it must have exceeded 1300, in two years; is a strong proof that the merit of the poem was known and felt in its fullest extent by every man of learning and taste in Britain, but that their applause was withheld for fear of giving offence to government, the author being obnoxious to the court, then in the zenith of its power, and adulated by almost all ranks of the people.

Mr. Richardson gives the fullest account of the first public notice taken of this inimitable poem, which was by Sir John Denham's coming into the house of commons one morning with a sheet of *Paradise Lost*, wet from the press, in his hand, and being asked what he was reading? he answered, part of the noblest poem that ever was written in any language, or in any age. No precise date is given to this incident by Mr. Richardson, but as Sir John Denham died in 1668, it must have happened while the first edition was at press. However, it is certain that the book was not known till about two years after, when the earl of Dorset recommended it, as appears by the following story, related to Mr. Richardson, by Dr. Tancred Robinson, an eminent physician in London, who was informed by Sir Fleetwood Shephard, "That the earl, in company with that gentleman, looking over some books in Little-Britain, met with *Paradise Lost*; and being surprised with some passages in turning it over, bought it. The bookseller desired his lordship to speak in its favour, since he liked it, for the impression lay on his hands as waste paper. The earl having read the poem, sent it to Mr. Dryden, who, in a short time, returned it, with this answer: "This man cuts us all out, and the antients too."

The

The 4th edition, a very pompous one in folio, with *Paradise Regained* and *Sampson Agonistes* annexed, was published in 1688, thro' the patronage of John Sommers, afterwards the famous lord Sommers, who advised the bookseller to undertake it by subscription, and in the list of subscribers we find his own, and the most respectable names of that time, as well for high rank, as eminence in learning. The fifth edition in folio was published in 1692; and the sixth in 1695; and the poem was now so well received that the sale increased double the number every year, though the price was four times greater than before. It has gone through numberless editions since, particularly one in 1727 by Elijah Fenton, and another by Dr. Bentley in 1732. But the most elegant edition was published in 1749, in two volumes 4to. with notes and the life of the author by Dr. Thomas Newton the present bishop of Bristol. Foreign nations have likewise been sensible of the great merit of this performance. It was translated into blank verse in low Dutch and published in 1728. into French prose in 1729; and into Italian verse in 1736. There are also three latin versions, one by Mr. Hog a Scotsman, published in 1690; and two others, one by Dr. Trapp, the other by Mr. Dobson, fellow of New-college Oxford: the two last were undertaken in consequence of a reward of 1000l. offered by Mr. Benson auditor of the imprest, for the best latin translation, and the prize was adjudged to Mr. Dobson. "Thus was justice at length done to the merits of this illustrious bard. Milton says the bishop of Bristol, is now considered as an English classic, and the *Paradise Lost* generally esteemed the noblest and most sublime of modern poems, and equal at least to the best of the antient; the honour of this country, and the envy and admiration of all others!"

Before

Before we take our leave of PARADISE LOST, it is proper to observe, that various criticisms have been published upon this celebrated poem, and different conjectures having been started by men of learning, concerning the source from which Milton took the first idea of the plan, they ought to be noticed, because the candid opinion of these gentlemen most probably opened the door to an impotent attempt made to blast the reputation of Milton, by one Lauder a Scotsman, who in his essay on Milton's use and imitation of the moderns, printed at London in 1750, charges him not only with stealing the plot from a tragedy called *Adamus Exel* written by Grotius, but of culling the flowers of this and other modern poets, and transplanting them into his own garden, where he has made them pass for his own. The charge was refuted by the Rev. Mr. Douglas, in a pamphlet intitled, "Milton vindicated," and Lauder incurred both censure and contempt. But it is acknowledged, that Milton might have taken the hint of his subject from an Italian tragedy called *Il Paradiso Perso*; printed many years before he undertook his poem; and this seems the more probable, because it is evident Milton at first intended to have wrote a tragedy on the subject, there being extant several rough sketches of the tragedy of Paradise Lost, in his own hand writing. This conjecture however, coming from so respectable an authority as the late Dr. Zachary Pearce, bishop of Rochester, encouraged others to throw out similar remarks; and Mr. Peck accordingly ventured his opinion, that it was taken from a celebrated Spanish romance called *Gerzinam*. But if to these were added ten thousand demonstrations of his having consulted modern authors for the outlines of his immortal work; the masterly execution of the poem, being truly original, must acquit him

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in the opinion of every sound critic, of every species of plagiarism.

The extraordinary merit of *Paradise Lost* must not however render us inattentive to the other learned labours of our author, it will therefore be necessary to resume the history of his life at the year 1670, when he published at London, in quarto, his “*History of Britain, that part especially, now called England, from the first traditional beginning, continued to the Norman conquest, collected out of the ancientest and best authors thereof.*” It is reprinted in the first volume of Dr. Kennet’s compleat history of England. Mr. Toland, in his life of Milton, page 43, observes, that we have not this history as it came out of his hands, for the licensers, those sworn officers to destroy learning, liberty, and good sense, expunged several passages of it, wherein he had exposed the superstition, pride, and cunning of the popish monks in the Saxon times, but applied by the sagacious licensers to Charles Ild’s bishops. In 1681, a considerable passage, which had been suppressed in the publication of this history, was printed at London, in quarto, under this title: “*Mr. John Milton’s character of the long parliament and assembly of divines in 1651, omitted in his other works, and never before printed.*” It is reported, and from the foregoing character it appears probable, that Mr. Milton had lent most of his personal estate upon the public faith, which, when he somewhat earnestly pressed to have restored, after long and chargeable attendance, he met with very sharp rebukes; upon which, at last, despairing of any success in this affair, he was forced to return from them poor and friendless, having spent all his money, and wearied all those who had espoused his cause, and he had not, probably, mended his circumstances

cumstances in those days, but by performing such service for them, as afterwards he did, for which scarce any thing would appear too great.

In 1671, he published at London, in octavo, *Paradise Regained*, a poem in four books, to which is added, *Sampson Agonistes*: there is not a stronger poof of human weakness, than Milton's preferring this poem of *Paradise Regained*, to "*Paradise Lost*," and it is a natural and just observation, that the Messiah in "*Paradise Regained*," with all his meekness, unaffected dignity, and clear reasoning, makes not so great a figure, as when in the *Paradise Lost*, he appears cloathed in the terrors of Almighty vengeance, wielding the thunder of heaven, and riding along the sky in the chariot of power, drawn, as Milton greatly expresses it, "With four Cherubic shapes; when he comes drest in awful majesty, and hurls the apostate spirits headlong into the fiery gulf of bottomless perdition, there to dwell in adamant chains and penal fire, who durst defy the Omnipotent to arms." Dr. Newton has dissented from the general opinion, concerning *Paradise Regained*: "Certainly, says he, it is very worthy of the author, and contrary to what Mr. Toland relates, Milton may be seen in *Paradise Regained*, as well as in *Paradise Lost*; if it is inferior in poetry, I know not whether it is inferior in sentiment; if it is less descriptive, it is more argumentative; if it does not sometimes rise so high, neither does it ever sink so low; and it has not met with the approbation it deserves, only because it has not been more read and considered. His subject indeed is confined, and he has a narrow foundation to build upon, but he has raised as noble a superstructure as such little room, and such scanty materials would allow. The great beauty of it is, the contrast between the two characters.

acters of the tempter and our Saviour; the artful sophistry, and specious insinuations of the one, refuted by the strong sense, and manly eloquence of the other."

The first thought of *Paradise Regained* was owing to Elwood the quaker, as he himself relates the occasion, in the history of his own life. When Milton had lent him the manuscript of *Paradise Lost*, at St. Giles Chalfont, and he returned it, Milton asked him how he liked it, and what he thought of it; "which I modestly and freely told him (says Elwood) and after some further discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, Thou hast said much of *Paradise Lost*, but what hast thou to say of *Paradise Found*? He made no answer, but sat some time in a muse, then broke off that discourse, and fell upon another subject." When Elwood afterwards waited upon him in London, Milton shewed him his *Paradise Regained*; and in a pleasant tone said to him, "this is owing to you, for you put it into my head, by the question you put to me at Chalfont, which before I had not thought of."

In the year 1672, he published his "*Artis logicæ plenior institutio ad rami methodum concinnata*," London, in octavo. Upon the indulgence granted to protestant dissenters in 1673, he published a defence of universal toleration for sectaries of all denominations, except papists, in a discourse, intitled, "Of true religion, heresy, schism, toleration, and what best means may be used against the growth of popery," London, in quarto. He published likewise, the same year, "Poems, &c. on several occasions, both English and Latin, composed at several times, with a small tractate on education, dedicated to Mr. Hartlib," London, in octavo. Early in the year 1674, he published

published his "*Epistolarum familiarium*, lib. i. and some Latin academical exercises," in octavo, and in the same year, in quarto, "A declaration of the Poles concerning the election of their king John III. translated from the Latin copy."

Mr. Wood tells us, that Milton was thought to be the author of a piece called "The grand case of conscience;" concerning the engagement stated and resolved; or a strict survey of the solemn league and covenant, in reference to the present engagement; but others are of opinion that the stile and manner of writing do not in the least favour that supposition. He left several pieces in manuscript, among the rest, his "Brief history of Muscovy, and of other less-known countries, lying eastward of Russia, as far as Cathay," printed in 1682, in octavo. His Latin state letters were first printed at London in 1676, in twelves, and translated into English, and printed in 1694. His historical, poetical, and miscellaneous works were printed in three volumes folio, in 1698, at London, though Amsterdam is mentioned in the title-page, with the life of the author, by Mr. Toland; but the most compleat and elegant edition of his prose works was printed in two volumes in folio, at London, in 1738, by the reverend Dr. Birch, late secretary to the royal society. In this edition the several pieces are disposed according to the order in which they were printed, with the addition of a Latin tract, omitted by Mr. Toland, concerning the reasons of the war with Spain in 1655, and several pages in the history of Great Britain, expunged by the licensers of the press, and not to be met with in any former impressions.

After a life of indefatigable study, and of active exertion in the cause of religious and civil liberty, for which he contended to the very last, this excellent

lent man died of the gout in his stomach ; he had languished under this disorder for some years before, and was so reduced by that, and other infirmities, as to render his dissolution scarce perceptible by those who were in the room with him : his death happened in November 1674. His remains were decently interred, near the body of his father, in the chancel of the church of St. Giles, Cripplegate : but no monument being found there afterwards, a very neat one was erected to his memory in Westminster-abbey in 1737, at the expence of William Benson Esq; one of the auditors of the imprest.

By his first wife he had four children, a son and three daughters. The daughters survived the father. Anne the eldest, married a master-builder, and died in child-bed of her first child, which died with her ; Mary lived and died single ; Deborah left her father when she was young, and went over to Ireland with a lady, and came to England again during the troubles of Ireland under king James II. She married Mr. Abraham Clark, a weaver in Spittlefields ; and died in 1727, in the seventy-sixth year of her age.

Mr. John Ward, fellow of the royal society, and professor of rhetoric in Gresham-college, London, saw the above Mrs. Clark, Milton's daughter, at the house of one of her relations, not long before her death ; "when she informed me," says that gentleman, "that she and her sisters used to read to their father in eight languages ; which, by practice, they were capable of doing with great readiness and accuracy, though they understood no language but English ; and their father used often to say in their hearing, one tongue was enough for a woman.

"None of them were ever sent to school, but were all taught English at home by a mistress kept for
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that purpose. And Milton himself learnt them to pronounce Greek and Latin. Homer, and Ovid's metamorphoses, were books which they were often called to read to their father; and, at my desire, she repeated a great number of verses from the beginning of both these poets with great readiness. I knew who she was upon the first sight of her, by the similitude of her countenance with her father's picture; and upon my telling her so, she informed me, that Mr. Addison told her the same thing, on her going to wait on him; for he, on hearing she was living, sent for her, and desired, if she had any papers of her father's, she would bring them with her, as an evidence of her being Milton's daughter; but immediately on her being introduced to him, he said, 'Madam, you need no other voucher; your face is a sufficient testimonial whose daughter you are:' and he then made her a handsome present of a purse of guineas, with a promise of procuring her an annual provision for life; but he dying soon after, she lost the benefit of his generous design. She appeared to be a woman of good sense and genteel behaviour, and to bear the inconveniences of a low fortune with decency and prudence."

Her late majesty, queen Caroline, sent her fifty pounds, and she received presents of money from several gentlemen not long before her death.

She had ten children; viz. seven sons and three daughters; but none of them had any children, except one of her sons, named Caleb; and the youngest daughter, whose name is Elizabeth. Caleb went over to Fort St. George, in the East Indies, where he married and had two sons, Abraham and Isaac. Of those, Abraham, the elder, came to England with governor Harrison, but returned again upon advice of his father's death; and, whether he or
his

his brother be now living is uncertain. Elizabeth, the youngest child of Deborah, married Mr. Thomas Foster, a weaver, and such is the caprice of fortune that this grand-daughter of the illustrious Milton, for some years before her husband's death, kept a little chandler's or grocer's shop at the lower end of Holloway, and afterwards in Cock-lane Shoreditch; where she was found by Dr. Birch, and afterwards visited by Dr. Newton, and in 1750, the mask of Comus was performed at Drury-lane, and produced her a great benefit. A pathetic prologue was written for the occasion by Dr. Johnson, and spoken by Mr. Garrick. She had had seven children, three sons and four daughters, who all died before the mother.

Milton had a brother, Mr. Christopher Milton, who was knighted, and made one of the barons of the Exchequer, in the reign of king James II. but he does not appear to have been a man of any abilities; at least, if he had any, they are lost to posterity in the lustre of his brother's.

There is now alive a grand-daughter of this Christopher Milton, who is married to one Mr. George Lookup, advocate at Edinburgh, remarkable for his knowledge of the Hebrew tongue. The lady, says Theo. Cibber, whom I have often seen, is extremely corpulent, has in her youth been very handsome, and is not destitute of poetical genius. She has written several copies of verses, published in the Edinburgh Magazines; and her face bears some resemblance to the picture of Milton.

Mr. Wood, and after him Mr. Fenton, has given us the following description of Milton's person.

“ He was of a moderate size, well proportioned, and of a ruddy complexion, light brown hair, and had handsome features; yet his eyes were none of the quickest: When he was a student at Cambridge, he

he was so fair and clear, that many called him the lady of Christ's college. His deportment was affable, and his gait erect and manly, bespeaking courage and undauntedness. While he had his sight, he wore a sword, and was well skilled in using it. He had a delicate, tuneable voice, an excellent ear, could play on the organ, and bear a part in vocal and instrumental music."

Milton's character as a poet appears to the best advantage in the following lines written by Dryden under his picture.

Three poets, in three distant ages born,
Greece, Italy, and England, did adorn.
The first, in loftiness of thought surpass'd;
The next, in majesty; in both the last:
The force of Nature could no further go,
To make a third, she join'd the former two.

As to his political principles he was a thorough republican; and in this he thought like a Greek or a Roman, as he was very conversant with their writings: and one day, Sir Robert Howard, who was a friend of Milton's, and a well-wisher to the liberty of his country, asked him, How he came to side with the Republicans? Milton answered, among other things, "Because theirs was the most frugal government; for the trappings of a monarchy might set up an ordinary commonwealth."

This is not the only instance by which it appears that he was as free in his conversation as in his writings, and that he was no time-server or respecter of persons, when he knew himself to be in the right. A remarkable story is told of him; which confirms this observation.

The duke of York, afterwards James II. took it in his head to pay him a visit out of curiosity. In

the course of their conversation, the duke asked Milton, whether he did not think the loss of his sight was a judgment upon him for what he had written against the late king his father? Milton's reply was to this effect: "If your highness thinks that the calamities which befall us here, are indications of the wrath of heaven, in what manner are we to account for the fate of the king your father? The displeasure of heaven must, upon this supposition, have been much greater against him, than against me: for I have only lost my eyes, but he lost his head." The duke was exceedingly nettled at this answer, and went away very angry.

As to Milton's religion, he was a dissenter from the church of England, but in the latter part of his life he was not a professed member of any particular sect of Christians; he frequented no public worship, nor used any religious rites in his family. He was an enemy to all kinds of form, and thought that all christians had, in some things, corrupted the simplicity and purity of the gospel. He believed that inward religion was the best, and that public communion had more of shew in it, than any tendency to promote genuine piety and unaffected goodness. The circumstances of our author were never very mean nor very affluent; he lived above want, and was content with competency. His father supported him during his travels. When he was appointed Latin secretary, his salary amounted to two hundred pounds per annum; and, though he was of the victorious party, yet he was far from sharing the spoils of his country. On the contrary, as we learn from his Second Defence, he sustained great losses during the civil-war, and was not at all favoured in the imposition of taxes, but sometimes paid beyond his due proportion: and, upon the turn of affairs, he was not only deprived of his place, but also lost two thousand

thousand pounds, which he had for security put into the Excise-office.

Some time before he died, he sold the greatest part of his library, as his heirs were not qualified to make a proper use of it, and as he thought he could dispose of it to greater advantage than they could after his death.

“He died,” says Dr. Newton, “by one means or other, worth one thousand five hundred pounds, besides his household-goods, which was no incompetent subsistence for him, who was as great a philosopher as a poet.”

Milton seems not to have been very happy in his marriages. His first wife offended him by her elopement: the second, whose love, sweetness, and delicacy he celebrates, lived not a twelvemonth with him: and his third, by whom he had no issue, was said to be a woman of a most violent spirit, and a severe step-mother to his children. “She died,” says Dr. Newton, “very old, at Nantwich, in Cheshire; and, from the accounts of those who had seen her, I have learned that she confirmed several things related before; and, particularly, that her husband used to compose his poetry chiefly in the winter; and, on his waking on a morning, would make her write down twenty or thirty verses. Being asked, Whether he did not often read Homer and Virgil, she understood it as an imputation upon him for stealing from these authors; and answered, with eagerness, that he stole from nobody but the muse that inspired him: and being asked by a lady present, who the muse was, she answered, ‘It was God’s grace and holy spirit that visited him nightly.’ She was likewise asked, whom he approved most of our English poets; and answered, ‘Spenser, Shakespeare, and Cowley:’ and being asked, what he thought of Dryden; she said, ‘Dryden used some-

times to visit him; but he thought him no poet, but a good rhimist.*

But the reader will be pleased to observe, that this censure of Milton's was before Dryden had acquired much reputation as a poet, or had composed those immortal works of genius which afterwards raised eternal monuments to him, and carried his name to every country where poetry and taste are known. She likewise used to say, that her husband was applied to by message from the king, and invited to write for the court; but his answer was, that such a behaviour would be very inconsistent with his former conduct, for he had never yet employed his pen against his conscience.

It would be an injustice to this great man to omit any part of his character. We shall therefore just mention that he was as eminent for his immense learning and erudition as for his extraordinary natural genius. He was a master not only of the Greek and Latin, but of the Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriac languages. Likewise of the principal modern tongues, especially the Italian, which he wrote so elegantly, that many members of the academy *Della Crusca* established at Florence for the refining and perfecting the Tuscan language, highly commended his stile.

In fine, he was an honest and a good, as well as an eminent man, being in his private life, an example of sobriety, temperance, frugality and patience; and in his public capacity, a model of perseverance to the dictates of conscience, from which he could not be swerved by hopes or fears; by the dread of punishments, or the tender of rewards.

* * * *Authorities.* Wood's *Fasti Oxon.* Toland's life of Milton, 1699 and 1761. Ellwood's life, edit. 1714. Fenton's life of Milton, prefixed to his

his works, 1727. Richardson's life of Milton. Dr. Birch's, 1738. Peck's Memoirs of the life and poetical works of Milton, 4to. 1740. Dr. Newton's, 1749 and 1764.

The LIFE of

S A M U E L B U T L E R, P O E T.

[A. D. 1612, to 1680.]

THIS admired poet, though an inferior genius, forms a striking contrast to Milton; they differed not more in their poetic vein, than in their political sentiments. Milton was a sublime, Butler a satiric poet: the former was a zealous republican, the latter a staunch royalist. With such opposite characters it is no wonder that these cotemporary poets, whose amicable union might have contributed, by their just commendation of each others works to the success of both in life, were not so much as acquainted with each other; and though it does not appear from any passages in their lives, yet it is to be presumed that they were secret, if not open enemies, and it is highly probable that Butler's Hudibras, which was universally read and admired, by biasing the taste of the times to that species of poetry, and by its vein of political satire aimed at Milton's party and principles, was a principal cause of the cool reception given to PARADISE LOST, on its first appearance.

Butler was the son of a substantial farmer who lived at Strensham in Worcestershire, where he was

born in the year 1612. He received a grammar education at the free school of Worcester, and Mr. Henry Bright, the master, having informed his father that he discovered in him an acute genius, and a ready disposition for learning, he resolved to encourage it, and to bring him up to the profession of the law : in this view he sent him to Cambridge to pursue his studies, but though he resided there six or seven years he was never matriculated, owing as it was said, to his father's narrow circumstances which would not permit him to go through the regular gradations of degrees, and to support the other incidental expences of university students. We are therefore to suppose that he only attended the public lectures in the university, which at that time were more numerous, more diligently executed and attended to, and more in repute than at present. The accounts of this part of his life however are very defective, and we are only told that when he quitted Cambridge, he became clerk to Mr. Jefferys of Earl's Croom, an eminent Justice of the peace for the county of Worcester, a station in those days in good esteem : With this gentleman he lived some years in a comfortable manner, having leisure sufficient to apply himself to those studies and amusements for which he perceived the strongest inclination, which were history, poetry, music and painting. He afterwards obtained the patronage of Elizabeth countess of Kent, a lady of great learning and the protectress of men of letters ; in the house of this lady he found an excellent library, and he likewise formed an acquaintance with other eminent men who frequently visited the countess, among others he became intimate with the learned Selden, who often made use of his friendly pen, requesting him to write Latin letters for him to foreign parts and to translate.

Mr.

Mr. Butler's next residence was with Sir Samuel Luke, a gentleman of an antient family in Bedfordshire, and one of Oliver Cromwell's generals. In this situation it is generally believed that he planned, if he did not write the famous poem of HUDIBRAS, under which character it is supposed, he intended to ridicule Sir Samuel; but as this is mere surmise and does no honour to his character as a gentleman or as a christian, let us charitably give no credit to such an insinuation of base ingratitude, to such an unworthy return for hospitality, perhaps patronage. The integrity of his life, universally acknowledged, should acquit him of this vile imputation.

History is silent with respect to our poet, from the time of his living with Sir Samuel Luke, which we find was after Oliver Cromwell had the command of the army, till some few years after the restoration when he was made secretary to Richard, earl of Carbury, lord president of Wales, who appointed him to be steward of Ludlow castle, when the lord president's court was revived there; and about this time, he married Mrs. Hubert, a widow lady of a very good family; but we have no dates to the few incidents of his life left on record, and must therefore be guided in point of time, by other circumstances. The first part of Hudibras was published in 1663, in octavo, afterwards came out the second part, and both were printed together with several additions and annotations; these we are to suppose first procured him the notice of the courtiers, and the patronage of the earl of Dorset, who introduced his poem at court, where it was so acceptable, that it became a matter of entertainment to the king, who often pleasantly quoted it in conversation. His slender, though honourable appointment under the lord president of Wales, probably took place much about the same period, and with this income

and his wife's jointure from her former husband, it is most likely he supported himself while he danced attendance on the court in hopes of preferment or some suitable reward "for the great service it was said he had done to the royal family, by writing his inimitable Hudibras."

Major Richardson Pack, in his life of Wycherly, a brother poet, then in high favour at court, (memoirs of whom will be found in our next volume) relates that Wycherly took all opportunities to recommend Butler to the duke of Buckingham, and even went so far as to tell him, it was a reproach to the court, that a person of his loyalty and wit should suffer in obscurity, and under the wants he did; upon which, the duke undertook to recommend him to his majesty; and Wycherly to forward the business, requested the duke to name a day when he might introduce Butler to his grace. The duke accordingly fixed the time and the place, and the two poets attended the duke at the roebuck, a noted tavern, but unfortunately, soon after they were met, the door of the room where they sat being open and his grace sitting near it, he saw a rake, a knight of his acquaintance pass by, with two loose women, whom he instantly pursued, and did not return to his company, nor from that hour did he take the least notice of his promises in favour of Butler. It is asserted likewise that lord Clarendon before his dismissal from employment, had promised Mr. Butler a good place, and had forfeited his word. However this be, it is certain, that he reaped no other benefit from the king's continual admiration of his poem, but a present of an order upon the treasury for three hundred pounds, which by the interest of his friend Mr. Longueville with the lord treasurer Danby, passed through all the offices without any deduction for fees, but when Mr. Longueville brought

brought it to Butler, he recollected that he owed more than that sum, and therefore he requested his friend to pay it away in discharge of his debts. Some assert that the king drew the order for three thousand pounds, but being in figures, a cypher was cut off in the treasury, or in some of the offices through which it passed; but this does not seem probable, for Butler, if this had been the case, would hardly have been so personally severe upon the king for his neglect of him, as we find him in the following lines of his poem intitl'd HUDIBRAS at court.

Now you must know, SIR HUDIBRAS
With such perfection gifted was,
And so peculiar in his manner
That all that saw him did him honour;
Among the rest, this prince was one,
Admired his conversation.
This prince, whose ready wit and parts
Conquer'd both men and womens hearts;
Was so o'ercome by knight and Ralph
That he could never claw it off.
He never eat, nor drank, nor slept,
But Hudibras still near him kept;
Never would go to church, or so,
But Hudibras must with him go:
Nor yet to visit concubine,
Or at a city feast to dine,
But Hudibras must still be there,
Or all the fat was in the fire.
Now after all was it not hard,
That he should meet with no reward,
That fitted out this knight and 'squire
This monarch did so much admire?
That he should never reimburse
The man for th'equipage, or horse

Is sure a strange ungrateful thing
In any body but a king.

We have but few more particulars of his life, for he mixed very little with the world, being a very modest man, who studiously avoided multiplicity of acquaintance. Even the earl of Dorset, one of his best friends, was obliged to make use of a stratagem to get acquainted with him, as he was peculiarly shy to his superiors. His lordship prevailed on Mr. Fleetwood Shephard, to introduce him into his company at a tavern where Butler and he used frequently to spend their evenings together, in the character of a common friend. This being done, Mr. Butler, who did not shine to advantage in conversation, till he had drank pretty freely, appeared very flat and heavy, while the first bottle went round, but in the course of drinking the second, he became very sprightly, full of wit and learning, and a most pleasant, agreeable companion; but before the third was finished, he sunk again into such stupidity and dulness, that hardly any body could have believed him to be the author of *HUDIBRAS*. Next morning, Mr. Shephard asked his lordship's opinion of Mr. Butler, who answered, "He is like a nine-pin, little at both ends, but great in the middle."

Our poet during the latter part of his life resided in Rose street, Covent-garden, where it is supposed he ended his days. His death happened in 1680, and his constant friend, Mr. Longueville made application to many of those great and wealthy persons who had admired him while living, to contribute to the expence of burying him in Westminster-abbey, but they who had courted his company, without promoting his interest in life, now refused this last honour to his remains, and therefore he was interred very decently, but privately in Covent-garden church
yard

yard at the sole expence of Mr. Longueville. From this and other circumstances it came to be reported, that he was reduced to great poverty and died very much in debt. But Mr. Charles Longueville the son of the above mentioned gentleman, so lately as the year 1735, publicly contradicted these assertions which had been taken up by some biographers.

The third and last part of Hudibras was published some time after the first and second part; and a complete edition of the whole was printed under the author's inspection in 1678, two years before his death. It has since received the highest commendations from foreigners, as well as from his own countrymen. Among the first, Voltaire has done it the greatest honour. This great genius thus expresses himself concerning it.—“ There is an English poem, the title of which is HUDIBRAS; it is *Don Quixote*; it is our *Satire Manippee*, blended together. I never met with so much wit in one single book as in this; and at the same time it is the most difficult to translate. Who would believe, that a work which paints in such lively and natural colours the several foibles of mankind, and where we meet with more sentiments than words, should baffle the endeavours of the ablest translators? But the reason of it is this; almost every part of it alludes to particular incidents.” Hudibras has gone through several editions, but the last and the most esteemed was published by Zachary Grey, LL.D. with large annotations, and a preface containing some memoirs of the author, Lond. 1744. 2 vol. 8vo. This edition has been since reprinted. In 1759, were published, The genuine remains in verse and prose, of Mr. Samuel Butler, printed from original manuscripts, formerly in the possession of William Longueville, Esq; with notes by Mr. R. Thyer, keeper of the public library at Manchester, 2 vol. 8vo. The first of these

these volumes consists chiefly of poetical pieces; the second, mostly of characters, drawn with great strength, to which are annexed ingenious thoughts on a variety of subjects. In justice to our author, we must not omit to make mention of an old edition of his posthumous works, first printed in three, and afterwards in one volume duodecimo; in which are many indecent and immoral pieces; and that Mr. Charles Longueville declared many of the pieces in this collection were spurious: we should therefore recommend it to the reader, to pay no regard whatever to that edition.

* * * *Authorities.* Gen. Biog. Dictionary. Grey's memoirs of Butler. Cibber's lives of the poets, vol. 2. British Biography, vol. 5.

The LIFE of
EDMUND WALLER, POET.

[A. D. 1605, to 1687.]

EDMUND WALLER was son to Robert Waller, Esq; of Agmondesham in Buckinghamshire, by Anne, sister to the celebrated Mr. Hampden. He was born in the year 1605, at Coleshill; which, though in the parish of Agmondesham, stands in Hertfordshire. He lost his father when he was very young, so that the care of his education devolved upon his mother: he had, however, the advantage of being left in very plentiful circumstances. The writer of Mr. Waller's life, prefixed to his works, says, "His father had the reputation of

of a wise man, and his œconomy was one of the distinguishing marks of his prudence. For though the family of Waller in Buckinghamshire was but a younger branch of the Wallers in Kent, yet this gentleman at his death left his son an estate of 3500l. a year; a fortune at that time fit for a nobleman. And, indeed, the antiquity of this family, and the services they have rendered their country, deservedly place it among the most honourable in England."

The same writer informs us, that our poet was sent to Eton school; but Mr. Wood tells us, that he was mostly trained in grammar-learning under Mr. Dobson, minister of Great Wycombe in Bucks. He was afterwards sent to King's college in Cambridge; but his stay there could not be very long; for before he was eighteen years of age, he was chosen into the third parliament of king James I. and served as burgesses for Agmondesham.

Mr. Waller began to exercise his poetical talents so early as the year 1623, as appears from a copy of verses in his works, upon the danger his majesty (being prince) escaped in the road of St. Andero; for there prince Charles had like to have been cast away, in returning from Spain that year. It has however been observed, that it was not Waller's wit, or his poetry, that occasioned him to be first publicly known; but it was his carrying the daughter and sole heiress of a rich citizen against a rival, whose interest was espoused by the court.

It is not known at what time he married his first lady; but he was a widower before he was five and twenty, when he became enamoured of the lady Dorothy Sydney, daughter to the earl of Leicester, and afterwards wife to the earl of Sunderland, whom he hath immortalized under the name of Sacharissa. But this lady did not favour Mr. Waller's passion, though he paid court to her in such strains,

“ As mov'd all hearts, but hers he wish'd to move.”

Our poet's attachment to this lady, however strong, did not prevent him from paying his compliments to another, whom he celebrates in his poems under the name of Amoret, by which he is said to have meant the lady Sophia Murray.

It was after his first marriage, that Mr. Waller began to be known at court, and from that time he was caressed by all the people of quality, who had any relish for wit and polite literature; and was one of the famous club, of which the Lord Falkland, Mr. Chillingworth, and other eminent men, were members. At one of their meetings, they heard a noise in the street, and being told a son of Ben Jonson's was arrested, they sent for him; and he proved to be Mr. George Morley, afterwards bishop of Winchester. Mr. Waller liked him so well, that he paid the debt, which was about 100 l. on condition that he would live with him at Beconsfield. Mr. Morley did so eight or ten years; and was very useful to Mr. Waller in improving his taste, and assisting his studies.

Our author was returned burgeess for Agmondestham, in the parliament which assembled in April, 1640, in which he censured the arbitrary measures of the court, in a very free and spirited manner. He also engaged in the opposition to the court in the long parliament, which met in November following; and was chosen to impeach Judge Crawley, for his extrajudicial opinion in the affair of ship-money; which he did in a very nervous and eloquent speech on the 6th of July, 1641. This speech was so greatly applauded by the public, that twenty thousand of them were sold in one day.

At

At the latter end of 1642, he was one of the commissioners appointed by parliament, to present their propositions of peace to the king at Oxford. But notwithstanding this, he soon after engaged in a plot against the parliament, and in favour of the king: and it is supposed by most writers, that he did this because he thought the parliament acted too violently against the king. Whatever his motives might be, he entered into a combination with Tomkins, his brother-in-law, and one Challoner, Tomkins's friend, to form a party strong enough to oppose the means necessary to carry on the war against the king. The earl of Northumberland, lord Conway, and other noblemen, had so far encouraged the scheme, as to express desires that expedients might be found to limit the authority exercised by the commons.

This design had been so highly improved on by the royal council, that it arose to the taking into the custody of the party, the king's children; the securing the principal leaders of the two houses, viz. the lords Say and Wharton, Sir Philip Stapleton, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Strode, with the lord mayor, and committee of the militia; to seize upon the outworks, forts, magazines, gates, and other places of importance, in the city and tower; and to let in the king's forces, three thousand of which were to advance from Oxford, so soon as intelligence was received there, that the matter was come to a proper ripeness. Whilst this affair was in agitation, and lists were forming of such as were conceived to be well-affected to the design, a servant of Tomkins, who had over-heard their discourse, immediately carried the intelligence to Mr. Pym: upon which Waller, Tomkins, and Challoner, were taken into custody.

Mr.

Mr. Waller's courage now began to fail him; so that, in hopes of saving his life, he readily confessed every circumstance of the plot, without concealing a tittle of any discourse he had ever had with the others who were engaged in the conspiracy. He also acted with the greatest art and dissimulation, counterfeiting such remorse of conscience, that his trial was put off, out of mere christian compassion, till he might recover the use of his understanding. He invited visits from the ruling clergy, received their exhortations with reverence and humility, made them presents, and pretended to gain from their instructions, a degree of religious light and knowledge which he had never before attained. In the mean time, his associates, Tomkins and Chalonier, were tried by a court martial, and put to death. Writers of the greatest note differ in their account of some material circumstances relative to Mr. Waller. According to lord Clarendon, his speech before the house of commons so far prevailed with them, that he was not tried by a council of war, which was the means of saving his life: whereas, according to Whitlocke, and others, he was tried by a council of war, but obtained a reprieve from general Essex, and was afterwards pardoned. However, it is certain that Mr. Waller was heard before the house of commons, where he made a most eloquent and pathetic speech, in which he acknowledged his offence with much appearance of penitence; but at the same time strongly urged the danger which the parliament would incur, by subjecting their members to be tried at any other tribunal than their own; and he was afterwards permitted to compound for his transgression, being suffered to leave the kingdom, after a year's imprisonment, on paying a fine of ten thousand pounds.

Mr.

Mr. Waller now retired into France, where he lived at Paris in a very hospitable and elegant manner: and it is said, that except the lord St. Alban's, who was the queen of England's prime minister, when she kept her court there, there was no English table but Mr. Waller's: which was so costly to him, that it brought his finances somewhat low. He had now married a second wife, named Mary, of the family of Bresse, or Breaux. During his stay in France, he resided some time at Rouen, where his daughter Margaret was born. He was particularly fond of this daughter, and she used to serve him as his amanuensis. About this time, he published the first edition of his poems. When Cromwell had assumed the protectorship, Mr. Waller, who was related to him, made application to him by his friends, for leave to return home, and which he accordingly obtained. On his return home, he was well received by the protector, who often conversed with him very freely; and Mr. Waller used to declare, that Oliver was well read in Greek and Roman history. In 1654, he addressed a fine panegyric to the protector; Mr. Waller also paid a fine compliment to the protector's memory, in a poem which he wrote on his death, in 1658. However, on the restoration of king Charles II. our poet's courtly muse produced a poem which he addressed to that monarch, upon his majesty's happy return. It is said, that when he presented this poem to the king, his majesty told him, that he thought it much inferior to his panygeric on Cromwell. "Sir," replied Mr. Waller, "we poets never succeed so well in writing truth, as in fiction."

He was always much caressed and respected in the court of king Charles II. and considered as one of the reigning wits there. That prince used him with great civility, and in his diversions at the duke
of

of Buckingham's, and other places, generally made Mr. Waller one of the party, excusing to the company his not being able to drink; upon which Mr. Savile used to say, "No man in England should keep him company without drinking, but Ned Waller." Our author obtained from king Charles a grant of the provostship of Eton college; but this grant proved of no effect, it being represented to his majesty, that by the statutes of that college, laymen were excluded from the provostship.

Mr. Waller sat in several parliaments after the restoration: in 1661, he was member for Hastings in Suffex, and in 1678, for Chipping Wycombe in Buckinghamshire. He was member for Saltash in Cornwall in the parliament assembled in 1685, in the reign of James II. he was now very old, but his wit and abilities still made him the object of admiration. "Waller," (says Burnet) "was the delight of the house: and even at eighty, he said the liveliest things of any among them." His faculties being thus vigorous to the end of his life, together with its natural vivacity, made his company agreeable to the last. King James II. having once ordered the earl of Sunderland to bring Mr. Waller to him in the afternoon, when he came, the king carried him into his closet, and there asked him, how he liked such a picture. "Sir, (says Mr. Waller) my eyes are dim, and I know not whose it is." The king answered, "It is the princess of Orange." "And (says Mr. Waller) she is like the greatest woman in the world." "Whom do you call so, asked the king?" "Queen Elizabeth," said he. "I wonder Mr. Waller," replied the king, "you should think so; but I must confess she had a wise council." "Sir," (said Mr. Waller) did you ever know a fool chuse a wise one." Sometime after this, as we are told by the writer of his life, prefixed to his

his works, it being known that Mr. Waller intended to marry his daughter to Dr. Birch, the king was prevailed with to endeavour to hinder it; and with this view directed a French gentleman of quality to tell him, that "the king wondered he should have any thoughts of marrying his daughter to a falling church." Mr. Waller made answer, "Sir, the king does me very great honour to take any notice of my domestic affairs; but I have lived long enough to observe, that this falling church has got a trick of rising again.

Some time before his death, he purchased a small estate, with a little house upon it, at Colehill, his birth-place, to which he frequently retired, but did not stay long. Being once carried to dine there, he said, "he should be glad to die like the stag, where he was roused." But in this his wish was not gratified. He was at Beconsfield, when finding his legs begin to swell, he took his son-in-law, Dr. Birch, with him to Sir Charles Scarborough, then at Windsor in attendance, as first physician to king James II. He told him, that he came to him as an old friend, as well as physician, to ask him what that swelling meant. Sir Charles said plainly, "Why, Sir, your blood will run no longer." Upon which Mr. Waller repeated some lines out of Virgil, suitable to the occasion, on the condition of human life, and received his sentence very composedly. The dropfical symptom encreasing, he ordered Dr. Birch to give him the holy sacrament, and desired all his children to join with him. At the same time, he professed his firm belief in christianity with great earnestness, telling them that when the duke of Buckingham once talked profanely before king Charles, he told him, "My lord, I am a great deal older than your grace, and I believe I have heard more arguments for atheism than ever
your

your grace did; but I have lived long enough to see there is nothing in them, and so I hope your grace will." He died on the 21st of October, 1687, and was interred with his ancestors in the churchyard at Beconsfield, where a handsome monument was erected to his memory. He left several children, and bequeathed his estate (which he had already greatly reduced) to his second son Edmund; his eldest Benjamin, being so far from inheriting his father's wit, that he even wanted common sense. Edmund was esteemed a man of good understanding, and was several times chosen a member of the house of commons; but in the latter part of his life he turned quaker. His fourth son, Dr. Stephen Waller, was a famous civilian, and one of the commissioners appointed for the union of the two kingdoms.

Mr. Waller is justly considered as one of the greatest refiners of the English language and versification.

The best edition of Mr. Waller's works is that published in 1730, 4to. with notes and observations by Mr. Elijah Fenton. Mr. Fenton's edition has since been printed in small 8vo.

* * * *Authorities.* Life of Waller prefixed to the edition of his works, Lond. 1712. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. II. Clarendon's Hist. of the rebellion, book 7.

The LIFE of
SIR WILLIAM PETTY.

[A. D. 1623, to 1687.]

THIS ingenious gentleman, whose talents were so various and extensive, that it is difficult to say to what class of men he properly belonged, was the eldest son of Anthony Petty, a clothier at Rumsley in Hampshire, where he was born in the year 1623. Almost from his infancy he discovered a genius for the mechanic arts, his chief amusement being to observe artificers at work, to examine their tools, and to attempt imitations of their performances, till in the end, he was so accustomed to these exercises, that at twelve years of age, he had acquired great skill in the manual arts, and could use the tools of most workmen with great skill and dexterity. According to his own account, he made the same rapid progress in polite literature, having attained a competent knowledge of the Greek, Latin and French languages; and made himself master of common arithmetic, practical geometry, dialling, and the astronomical part of navigation, by the time he was full fifteen years of age. Thus accomplished, he went in search of further improvement to the university of Caen in Normandy. Upon his return to England, he obtained some place in the navy office, and having saved up *threescore* pounds, he deemed this small sum a sufficient fund to defray the expences of

of travelling to foreign parts; with this pittance therefore our industrious adventurer embarked for the Netherlands about the year 1643, taking with him his younger brother Anthony, whose education he likewise undertook. At this time, he resolved to study physic, and with this design, he visited Leyden, Utrecht, Amsterdam and Paris, residing longest at the last, the university being then in great repute, and there he applied himself diligently to the study of anatomy, reading the works of Vesalius the famous Flemish anatomist, in company with our celebrated philosopher Hobbes, who took great pleasure in associating with him, and in forwarding his pregnant genius.

It may easily be conceived that sixty pounds could only serve to set him forward in his journey, and to defray the ordinary expences of travelling; it has therefore been generally surmised, that he carried on some advantageous branch of traffic with his own country during the three years he resided on the continent, by which he was enabled to support himself genteely, and to return to England in 1646, bringing home with him *ten* pounds more than he carried out, but this is only conjecture, for he does not himself account for this extraordinary circumstance.

In the year 1647, he obtained a patent for an instrument he had invented for double writing; it is described to have been of small bulk and price, easily made and very durable, whereby two resembling copies of the same thing might be wrote at once, as expeditiously, and as fair as they could have been done by different persons in the ordinary way. It could be learnt in an hour's time, and it was supposed that it would have been of great advantage to lawyers and scriveners; but the additional fatigue to the hand, by the increase of weight

weight above that of a pen, rendered the project useless with respect to the chief advantage proposed by it, that of expedition: so that Mr. Petty derived but little benefit from his exclusive privilege of teaching this art for seventeen years, except that it spread the reputation of his ingenuity, and brought him acquainted with all the learned men of those days. By their advice and interest he fixed his abode at Oxford, where he practised chemistry and physic with great success, and assisted Dr. Clayton, the anatomy professor, in his dissections. The fame of his great abilities soon after reached London, the philosophical meetings of the learned, which preceded the institution of the royal society, having been held frequently at his lodgings at Oxford, by which means some of the leading men in parliament made it a point to advance his interest, so that in 1649, a parliamentary recommendation was sent to Brazen-nose college to elect him to a fellowship, made void by ejection, which was complied with, and at the same time the university conferred upon him an honorary degree of doctor of physic. In 1650 he was admitted a candidate of the college of physicians at London: and in the month of December of the same year, he was principally concerned with some other physicians, in restoring to life one Anne Green, who had been hanged at Oxford for the murder of her bastard child.

It is related of this woman, that she hung near half an hour, during which time her friends, in order to put her out of pain, thumped upon her breast, suspended themselves upon her legs, lifted her up, and then pulled her down again with sudden and violent jerks, yet she was not deprived of life, for after she was in her coffin, she was observed to breathe, when a lusty fellow stamped with
all

all his force on her breast and stomach ; the doctors then got possession of the body, and recovered her, but we are not told by what means, only that she lived many years after, and bore several children.

In the beginning of the year 1651, Dr. Petty was elected anatomy professor upon the resignation of Dr. Clayton, and he likewise succeeded Dr. Knight in the professorship of Music in Gresham-college. The following year he was appointed physician to the army in Ireland, he was likewise physician to three successive lord lieutenants, Lambert, Fleetwood and Henry Cromwell ; which preferments, together with great practice in the city of Dublin, placed him in a state of affluence. His fertile genius however could not be confined to the science of physic alone. Being an excellent mathematician, he was completely master of the art of surveying land ; and having observed that after the rebellion in Ireland of 1641, the forfeited lands, which had been allotted to the soldiers for suppressing it, were very defectively measured, he made such representations upon the subject to Oliver Cromwell, that he granted him a contract in 1654, to make new admeasurements, which he finished with such accuracy, that the true value of every estate not under 60 l. per annum was exactly ascertained, and plans were likewise drawn by him of the whole. By this contract he gained upwards of ten thousand pounds. And it appears by authentic records that in 1655, he had surveyed 28000000 acres of forfeited improveable land, part of which he had divided amongst the disbanded soldiers. Henry Cromwell being appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland in the course of that year, he chose Dr. Petty to be his secretary, and in 1657 he made him clerk of the council ; and by his interest procured him a seat in the English parliament, in which he served
for

for the borough of Westlow in Cornwall. But here he met with a severe mortification, being impeached in March 1658, by Sir Hierom Sankey, for high crimes and misdemeanours in the execution of his office of surveying, and distributing the Irish lands, a business for which he expected general applause. The charge being general, and the doctor absent in Ireland, it was thought reasonable that it should be reduced into articles, and in the mean time, that he should be summoned to attend the house within the space of a month. This brought him to England before the appointed time; for he took his seat in the house on the 19th of April, and gave in his answer to the articles on the 21st; to which his prosecutors replying, the matter was adjourned to a distant day, and so came not to a final issue, the parliament being suddenly dissolved by Richard Cromwell.

The attempt against him failing in England, Sir Hierom Sankey countenanced a more vigorous prosecution against him in Ireland, upon his return thither, soon after the dissolution of the parliament; and though he published a justification of himself under the title of brief proceedings between him and Sir Hierom, with reflections upon some persons and things in Ireland, yet neither this performance, nor a letter written in his favour by Henry Cromwell, to his brother the Protector, could prevent his being dismissed from all public employment, as soon as Richard Cromwell had resigned, and the remnant of the long parliament had reassumed the reins of government. His dismissal happened in June 1659, and he then became a member of the ROTA Club, at Miles's coffee-house, in New-palace-yard, Westminster. The scheme of this club was, that all officers of state should be chosen by ballot for a limited time, after which they were to resign.

and others were to be elected in the same manner; a certain number of members of parliament were likewise, to be changed annually, by rotation. But this plan not taking effect, and the doctor's interest visibly declining in England, he returned to Ireland, and employed his time in improving his own estates, which were then very considerable; there he remained till the restoration of Charles II; when he came to England, and was very graciously received by his majesty, and soon after, he resigned his professorship of Gresham college, the king having appointed him to be one of the commissioners of the court of claims, established in Ireland in 1662, to settle the claims relating to forfeited estates in that kingdom. His majesty likewise conferred on him the honour of knighthood, granted him a new patent, constituting him surveyor-general of Ireland; and in his instructions to the court of claims, he ordered that all the forfeited lands which had been assigned to him, and of which he had been possessed in May 1659, just before his dismissal from his former employments, should be confirmed to him for ever, so that Sir William Petty's estate amounted, according to his own account, to six thousand pounds per annum; and from mount Mangorton, in the county of Kerry, he could see fifteen thousand acres of his own land.

Upon the institution of "The Royal Society of London," in 1662, he was elected one of their first council; and though he no longer practised as a physician, his name was inserted in the list of the fellows, upon the renewal of the charter of "The College of Physicians," in 1663. Sir William about this time, gave a fresh proof of his genius for mechanics, and his skill in navigation; for he invented a double-bottomed ship, to sail against wind and tide, which performed one successful voyage

voyage very expeditiously, from Dublin to Holyhead, in July 1664, turning into that narrow harbour against wind and tide. The earl of Ossory and several other persons of distinction embarked in her, upon her return to Dublin, and repeated the experiment within the bar, near Dublin. In a hard gale, she put out to sea with a Dutch vessel; esteemed a prime sailer, which vessel was thought to be over-set, whilst Sir William's did not incline above half a foot; she was therefore called the *Pad* of the sea, and she seemed to excel all other forms of ships in sailing, carriage, and security, besides other advantages; but in her return for Dublin, from a second voyage, she was destroyed in a violent storm, in which a fleet consisting of seventy sail likewise perished. He gave a model of this vessel to the Royal Society, which is still preserved in their repository; he likewise communicated to that learned body in 1665, A discourse on ship-building, containing some curious secrets in that art. But this piece was lost to the public, for it was taken away from the society by lord Brounker, one of their presidents, in the year 1682, though the author was then living, under pretence, that it was too great an arcanum of state to be commonly perused.

Sir William Petty employed great part of his time for many years in attempts to improve upon his plan; and after having made upwards of twenty models at great expence, he at length had a vessel completed according to his own instructions, which was publicly tried in the harbour of Dublin for two days, in December 1684, but she performed so abominably, that it seemed as if she had been built on purpose to disappoint every expectation that was formed concerning her; and the mortification was the greater to Sir William, because he had asserted, "that he would construct passage-boats between

Dublin and Chester, which should be a kind of stage-boats ; for they should be as regular in going out and returning on set days, in all weathers, as the stage-coaches between London and any country town.

Yet the vexation occasioned by this disappointment did not deter Sir William from continuing his studies for the improvement of shipping during the remainder of his life ; and though he made no more public experiments, he wrote several ingenious essays on the subject, to the Royal Society, and a treatise on Naval philosophy, addressed to the earl, afterwards the great duke of Marlborough, published after his death.

The account of this enterprize may be the more entertaining to the reader, while the adventure of the unfortunate Mr. Day, at Plymouth, is still fresh in his memory ; it is probable this modern inventor had perused and studied the relations given of Sir William Petty's double-bottomed ship ; and of the barge invented by Cornelius Drebel, a Dutchman, which was tried upon the Thames in the reign of James I. and was actually rowed under water for a considerable time and distance, with the greatest security to the persons on board. The only error in these extraordinary projects seems to be, that of imagining that what is right in theory, and will stand the test of partial experiments, under favourable circumstances, can always be carried into general practice. Drebel, Petty, and Day, all made one successful experiment with every thing advantageously disposed ; but deprived of all partial aid, the second experiment demonstrated, with respect to the two last, that the inventors had not made allowance for common accidents, or at least, that their machines were not better calculated to surmount them than any others of the same kind. Day's
vessel

vessel had a false bottom, standing on feet like a butcher's block, the ballast was contained in this false bottom, and by the person in the vessel unscrewing some pins, she was to rise to the surface, leaving the false bottom behind. This had been done successfully in a Norwich market-boat fitted for his purpose, in which he sunk himself 30 feet under water in Yarmouth roads, and after remaining 24 hours, he rose in the vessel to the surface with great ease and safety; but at Plymouth, the second experiment proved fatal; for he went down in 22 fathom water, on the 28th of June 1774, and never rose again, nor could any thing be ascertained concerning the vessel.

We must now return to the year 1666, in order to proceed regularly with the remaining memoirs of Sir William Petty. This is the date of his "*Verbum Sapienti*, containing an account of the wealth and expences of England, and the method of raising taxes in the most equal manner: shewing likewise, that England can bear the charge of four millions annually, when the occasions of the government require it." Though this was the first tract which took in a general and comprehensive view of the abilities of the people, and of the nature of the public revenues published by our author, yet it appears that his famous treatise on political arithmetic, of which further mention will be made in the account of his posthumous works, was presented by him to Charles II. in manuscript, upon his restoration; and this accounts for the honours and favours conferred upon him by that prince, to whom no person could be more acceptable than an author who taught him how to increase his revenues. He had likewise published a small piece on a more confined plan in 1662, intitled, "*A treatise on taxes and contributions: shewing the nature and measures of crown-lands, assessments, customs, poll-*
monies,

monies, lotteries, benevolence, &c." chiefly calculated to answer the purposes of the court; but his *Verbum Sapienti* was a general display to the public of his abilities as a political calculator, and it was well received from its novelty, there being at that time scarce any thing extant upon the finances, or upon the property and resource of the kingdom. In 1667, he married Elizabeth, daughter to Sir Hardress Waller, and relict of Sir Maurice Fenton, baronet, and from this time, he engaged in various pursuits, which shewed the great activity of his extensive genius, and how capable he was to promote the commercial interest of his country, and at the same time to make it subservient to the advancement of his own fortune: for he opened lead mines, and a trade for timber, he likewise set up iron works, and established a pilchard fishery, all in the county of Kerry in Ireland, by which he greatly benefited that country and enriched himself; and though he chiefly resided in England, yet he made frequent visits to that kingdom, and promoted the establishment of a philosophical society at Dublin, (in imitation of the Royal Society of London) of which he was president in 1684, when he drew up a catalogue of mean, vulgar, cheap, and simple experiments, proper for the infant state of that society, also his *Supplex Philosophica*, being a description of forty five instruments, requisite to carry on their institution, which he afterwards sent to them as a present from London.

In 1685, he made his will, which is as remarkable as any other transaction of his life, and amongst other things he takes notice, that from thenceforward, "he shall confine his studies to the anatomy of the people, to political arithmetic, and to the improvement of ships, land-carriages and pumps, as of most use to mankind, not blaming the study of other men." But death put a period to his useful

ful labours in the year 1687, when he was carried off by a gangrene in his foot, occasioned by the gout. His body was carried from his house in Piccadilly to Rumsey, and interred in the chancel of the church, near his parents, and over his grave was cut on a plain flat stone, by an illiterate workman, this simple inscription, *Here layes Sir William Pety.* But it is the duty of the editor of these sheets to do justice to the memory of this ingenious and industrious philosopher and politician, by declaring, that in his opinion, he merits the character of being the first able financier of this country, who reduced the science of raising and applying the public revenues of the kingdom to a regular system, in print. His enterprising and diffusive genius led him to embrace a variety of objects, which made his writings numerous, upon subjects belonging to the classes of arts and manufactures, particularly on dying and the woollen manufactory, most of which are to be found either in the Philosophical Transactions, or in the History of the Royal Society, by Dr. Birch; as ingenious as they were however, several of them are temporary, fugitive pieces, which later improvements have rendered of no present value. But his **POLITICAL ARITHMETIC** is a masterpiece in its kind, and has served as a grammar to young students of political œconomy from the time of its publication, the increase of our national debts and taxes, of our revenue resources, and of our commerce; rendering it still more valuable as a *Vademecum* to modern financiers, who very often are put into offices in the treasury, and other revenue departments, before they know so much as the meaning of political arithmetic. For their benefit as well as others, it may be necessary to explain it, by inserting in this place, the remaining copious title of this valuable performance.—“ Or a discourse concerning the extent and value of lands, people,

people, buildings, husbandry, manufacture, commerce, fishery, artificans, seamen, soldiers, public revenues, interests, taxes, superlucration, registries, banks, valuation of men, increasing of seamen, of militias, harbours, situation, shipping, power at sea, &c. as the same relates to every country in general, but more particularly to the territories of his majesty of Great Britain, and his neighbours of Holland, Zealand, and France." It was published at London by his son, in 1690 in 8vo. and has been frequently reprinted. Sir William Petty's eldest son was created baron of Shelburne, in the county of Waterford in Ireland, by WILLIAM III. but dying without issue, he was succeeded in that honour by his younger brother, Henry, who was created viscount Dunkeron in the county of Kerry, and earl of Shelburne in 1718. From this nobleman is descended the present illustrious William Petty, earl of Shelburne, who takes his seat in the house of peers of England, by the title of baron of Wycombe in Buckinghamshire. A remarkable instance this, and a striking example of the establishment of a noble family from the united efforts of ingenuity and industry in one man, who from so small a beginning as sixty pounds, and after being reduced to such penury in France, as to be obliged "to live for a week on two or three pennyworth of walnuts, hewed out a fortune to himself," and left his family at his death, 6500l. per annum in land, above 45000l. in personal effects, and a plan of demonstrable improvements on his estate, to produce 4000l. per annum more.

* * *Authorities.* Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. 2. Ward's Lives of the Gresham Professors. Granger's Biog. Hist. of England.

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